

THE
HISTORY
Of the Late
REBELLION.

With Original
Papers, and Characters
Of the Principal
Noblemen *and* Gentlemen
Concern'd in it.

By the Reverend
Mr. ROBERT PATTEN.

L O N D O N:
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1717.





TO THE
Lieutenant-Generals
Carpenter and Wills,

AND
*The rest of the Commanding Officers
of His MAJESTY's Forces at the
Attack at Preston.*

GENTLEMEN,



S you had the Honour
to Command His Ma-
jesty's Troops against
the Rebels at *Preston*, in
Honour to your *Courage* and *Conduct*,
I thought my self engag'd, when
I undertook the writing this short
History of the Rebellion, to do you
that Justice which is due to your
Merit, by assuring the World that
that it was to your prudent Manage-
ment and unshaken Bravery, anima-
ted by the Justice of the CAUSE, the
signal Defeat of that Day was justly
A 2 owing,

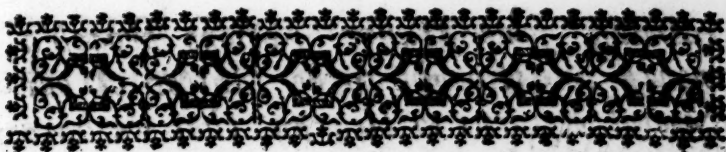
DEDICATION.

owing. There have been some indeed, with a view to lessen the Characters of *Brave Men*, in the way of arrogating Praise to their own Party, who have pretended to assert the contrary, (some of which kept themselves warm in a Chimney-Corner during the Heat of the Action;) but I, who was an Eye-witness to all the Great and Resolute Attacks made by you, under the greatest Disadvantage imaginable, can boldly affirm, that never did Men behave better, especially in your Circumstances, being all the time naked and exposed to the Fire of the Rebels, from Windows, Barriers, Entrenchments, &c. All which, I presume, will appear in the following History, humbly Dedicated to you, by,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient Servant,

ROBERT PATTEN.



THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.



THE following Sheets are what I may justly call an Impartial History of the late Rebellion. If it seem to you, that I treat some of my Brethren the Clergy a little too smartly, I protest it is out of no Disrespect to their Persons, much less to the Sacred Function they bear, which I retain the greatest Veneration and Respect for, notwithstanding any Calumnies that may be laid to my Charge.

Amidst

The P R E F A C E

Amidst some strange Notions broach'd amongst us, it ought to be Matter of our grateful Returns to Heaven, that we have still a Sett of Reverend, Learned, and Pious Divines, who, animated by a true Spirit of Piety, by their Example, Pen, and Preaching, are eminent Ornament to the Establish'd Government in Church and State; whose serious Admonitions, and grave Counsels, if duly regarded, wou'd speedily and effectually redress all our Grievances and Divisions. However the Reflections may rise to others, I must own they have been of singular Use to me; for whilst I continued among those unfortunate Gentlemen (whose Principles were once my own, I look'd no farther than esteeming what I had done the least part of my Guilt: But no sooner was I removed into the Custody of a Messenger, and there closely Confin'd, where I had Leisure to reflect upon my past Life, (and especially that of engaging in the Rebellion) than a great many Scruples offered themselves to my Consideration: In Consequence of which, I made it my Request to Lord Townshend, that he would be pleased to allow a Clergyman to converse with me; which that Noble Lord freely granted, and sent to me the Reverend Dr. Cannon, a Man of singular good Temper and Literature, who apply'd

to the READER.

ply'd his best Endeavours to satisfy me in every Point and Query I propos'd: In which his Learning and solid Reasoning prevail'd upon me; for which good Service my best Wishes shall always attend him.

From thence I began to think it a Duty incumbent on me to make all the Reparation I could, for the Injury I had done the Government; and, as the first Thing in that Way, I became an Evidence for the King; which I am far from being asham'd of, let what Calumnies will follow. In the Interim, I cannot but particularly observe one Thing, in Opposition to what has been Printed and Reported by the Enemies of the Government, viz. that the King's Witnesses were Brib'd and Brow-beaten, to extort from them the Matters which they gave in Evidence.

As to my own Part, and I dare say I may speak it for others, I never knew any Thing of this kind; but in Honour to those who were employ'd to take my Examination, I must affirm, that I was used in the most Gentleman-like manner, far from extorting any thing by such base Arts, which no doubt wou'd e're now have appear'd under the foulest Reflections; seeing the other
Party

THE PREFACE.

Party did not stick to bribe all that wou'd take their Money, and by that means too frequently gain'd their Ends : while on the other hand, it may be said, in the Face of Heaven, that fairer Tryals were never allow'd, at least to Men who so little deserv'd it.

I pray God that the Clemency shewn them, may not be a Temptation to them to repeat their Crimes ; from which, of His Infinite Mercy, I beg he will deliver these Kingdoms.



THE

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION.



THE several secret Steps, which of late have been taken to establish the pretended Son of King *James II.* upon the Imperial Throne of these Realms, and which, for many Years, have been carried on by Intrigues and Cabals of Parties and Persons, against the Establishment of this Nation both in Church and State, have now at last discover'd themselves in Open Rebellion. Whatever Pretences they have made to cover their secret Practices; whatever different Mea-

B

asures

fures they have taken to carry on their
 Designs, they have all appear'd to cen-
 tre in this one Point, (*viz.*) to Dethrone
 His Majesty King GEORGE, and to set
 aside the Protestant Succession in His Il-
 lustrious Family. There is no Question
 to be made but that they would gladly
 have brought this to pass by quiet and
 easy Methods; and that, *if possible*, they
 would have brought the Nation into it,
 on the Pretences of *Hereditary Right*,
Legitimacy of Blood, and the *Divine Law*
of Primogeniture, which for many Years
 they had preach'd up as a Principle in
 the Church, raising innumerable Inven-
 tions of forged Stories and false Repre-
 sentations to prepossess the Minds of the
 People in favour of a *Popish Pretender*,
 and in prejudice of the *House of Hano-*
ver. But Heaven having disappointed
 all those clandestine Measures, by the
 sudden and unexpected Death of the late
 Queen, and especially of the late King
 of *France*, on whose open and avow'd
 Engagements of Support they entirely
 depended; and King GEORGE, in Right
 of the several Parliamentary Settlements
 of the Entail, being peaceably possess'd
 of, and establish'd in the Throne; they
 had then no way left but to fly to the
 last

last Resort of desperate Men, and taking Arms to break out in Open Rebellion.

Being to write of this Remarkable Event, as One among the Rest deluded to take an unhappy Share in its Progress and Consequences, I shall rather confine myself to the Matters of Fact historically to be related, than go back to the secret Consultations and Resolutions by which the Persons concern'd ripen'd one another up to a Spirit of Rebellion; only observing one thing previous to the Rebellion itself, and very aggravating upon those concern'd in it, (*viz.*) that not only many of the Gentlemen concerned, but even the Earl of *Mar* himself, who was the first Mover and Head of the Rebellion itself, had not only offer'd their Service to the King, but had taken Oaths to continue faithful to him, and had in particular abjur'd the Interest of the Pretender.

I say no more of it here, *being to mention it again in its Course*, but this, that it was a sad Token of what Principles either of Honour or Conscience these Men proceeded upon, and which, had it been known sooner, would certainly have been an Antidote to have cur'd not me only, but many more deluded Men, of the

most favourable Thoughts we had entertain'd for their Persons and Designs.

To look then no farther back, we find the first Beginning of this Rebellion discover'd it self in the *Eastern Parts of Scotland*, in the Provinces of *Mernis*, *Perth-shire*, *Angus*, &c. in the following Manner.

Several Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others in *Scotland*, being prepar'd by the Management and Influence of the Earl of *Mar*, began to draw together their Servants and Dependents in all the Places where they had Interest, making divers Pretences for so doing, but not for some time discovering the real Design; till at length Things ripening upon them, and Notice being taken of them, and especially the Earl of *Mar* being arrived among them, they boldly drew together, and openly declared themselves to have taken up Arms against King *GEORGE*, giving Defiance to His Forces, and suppressing all that were loyally affected to His Person. This daring Attempt began first about the latter End of *August*, 1715, in the Shire of *Perth*, and in the Highlands of the Shire or County of *Mar*, where they continued some Days, gathering their People together till their Number encreased, and then barefacedly they

they advanc'd to other Places, forming themselves into a Body, and particularly at a small Market-Town named *Kirk-Michael*, where the Pretender was first proclaimed, and his Standard set up, with a Summons for all People to attend it. This was on the 9th of *September*, where they continued 4 or 5 Days, and then made their Way to *Moulin*, another small Market-Town in the same Shire. Here they likewise proclaim'd the Pretender, and rested 14 Days, gathering Forces; and where, by the coming in of others of their Party, they considerably encreased their Number. From hence they marched to another Market-Town called *Logarett*; their Number now amounting to 1000 Men well arm'd. From *Logarett* they marched to an ancient City, which formerly gave Title to a Bishop, call'd *Dunkeld*. This Place they made their Head-Quarters; and here their Numbers encreased again considerably; for here they were joined by 2000 Men from the Highlands, by the Marquis of *Tullibarden*, by the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men, and several others. Here finding themselves strengthen'd by the Addition of the Highland Men, as above, they resolved to extend their Quarters; and the Earl of *Mar* having Intelligence that

the Earl of *Rothel*, and the Gentlemen of *Fife*, who were up in Arms for the King, were advancing to possess themselves of *Perth*, call'd also *St. John's-Town*, the principal City of these Parts, and which commands the Passage over the *Tay*, resolv'd to be beforehand with them, and having Intelligence in the Place, he detach'd Mr. *John Hay*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinoul*, with a strong Party, giving him Orders to possess himself of that Place, which he performed effectually ; which Action, as it was a great Disappointment to the King's Troops, so it was a very great Advantage to the Earl of *Mar* and his Party :

1. As it gave him the Command of the whole Province of *Fife*, the most fruitful, rich, and, for the Convenience of the Sea-C coast, the most commodious to him of any of the Provinces in that Part of *Scotland*, as will soon appear.

2. As it gave a great Reputation as well to his Conduct as to his Party, who upon this Success made Preparations in all Parts to draw together and join him. And now indeed they began to have the Face of a strong Army, making this City their Chief Garrison and Head Quarters. A great many Lords, Chiefs
of

of Clans, and other Gentlemen from all Quarters flock'd to them, with their Followers, and some of them in very good Order and well arm'd, particularly the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Seaforth*, the *Mackintoshes*, the Earl *Mareschall*, and with them so many, that their Number were said to be about 12000 Men, very well appointed, as well Horse as Foot.

From thence extending their Quarters, they performed an Exploit at *Brunt-Island*, which still added to their Reputation; where they not only surpriz'd the Town, being strong by Situation, and a Sea-Port on the *Firth* of *Forth*, in view of the very City of *Edinburgh*; but Manning out some Boats in the Harbour, they went off, and seiz'd a Ship loaden with Arms, Ammunition, and other Warlike Stores, which lay in the *Firth*, bound to the North, for the Use of the Earl of *Sutherland*.

Subsequent to this, they immediately made themselves Masters of all the Towns upon the Coast, even to the Mouth of the *Firth*, and, in a word, of the whole Province of *Fife*, the Earl of *Rothes* and the Gentlemen with him being oblig'd to separate, or retire to *Sterling*, to the King's Army.

The Rebellion being come to this length, the E of *Mar* resolv'd, in concert with his Confederates, who by this time began to appear likewise in other Places, to make an Attempt upon the South Parts of *Scotland*, and this by a Method which at that time was not expected, and indeed scarce practicable, (*viz.*) by sending a strong Detachment of Men to cross the *Firth* of *Forth*, to land on *Lothian* side there to be join'd by their Friends who they expected to rise about *Haddingtoun*, and on the Borders of *England*. On their March to the Sea-Coast they were covered by some Horsemen under the Command of Sir *John Areskin* of *Alva*, the Master of *Sinclar*, and Sir *James Sharp*, Grandson to Archbishop *Sharp* of *St. Andrews*, who was murder'd in his Coach by the Old *Cameronians*. This Body was commanded by the Laird of *Borlam*, better known by the Name of Brigadier *Macintosh*, and consisted of 2500 Men well arm'd. Orders had been given for all the Boats on that side to be got ready to transport them over. His Majesty's Ships then in the *Firth* either espying them, or having notice of the Design, prepared to prevent them, and weighing their Anchors upon the top of the Flood, set Sail to intercept them if they should attempt

tempt the Passage; but the Rebels made several Counter-marches to amuse them till Night came on. They drew all down to the Shore on *Wednesday* Night, the 11th of *October*. Several embark'd that Night, and others the next Night, making directly over the South Shore, the Men of War not being able to come time enough; yet one Boat was taken with 40 Men on Board; others were forc'd back to the *Fife* Side again; among whom my Lord *Strathmore*, and his Lieutenant Colonel *Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield*, and a great many Men were forced into the Isle of *May*. Of the 2500 designed for this Descent upon the *Lothians*, only 1500 of them landed: The Men of War being come down, made it impracticable for the other to pass; so they were obliged to stay till the next Night, and then to get back to *Criel* on the Shore of *Fife*: The other getting to the Shore, landed at *North Berwick*, *Aberlady*, and other Places on that Coast, and quarter'd at *Haddingtoun* and *Tranent* the first Night. This was a bold, and, to give them their due, a brave Attempt, for Men in open Boats to cross an Arm of the Sea 16 or 17 Miles broad, in Sight, and indeed in Defiance of Three Men of War, whom they fell in among, but received no Damage

image from them, but rather an Advantage; for the Lights of the Ships shew'd them how to row to the Shore. On the other hand, the Government omitted nothing that could be done to prevent this bold Attempt; no Care was wanting to disappoint them of Vessels for the Undertaking; the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* and of the other Towns on the *Edith* having had Notice from the Duke of *Argyle* of this Design, had order'd all the Boats that could be got to be brought to *Leith*; and besides the Three Ships of War that lay in the Road, order'd the Three Custom-house Smacks either to burn or bring over from *Fife* all the Boats and Vessels they could find, to prevent the Rebels coming over. But all these Precautions prov'd ineffectual: The Rebels being Masters of all the Sea-Shore, from *Cromarty* to the *Forth* of *Edinburgh*, they easily found Means to get Boats for their Purpose; nor did they fail of all necessary Policy in the Management of the Design; for whilst some of them amused the King's Ships about *Brunt-Island*, as if they would pass above *Leith-Road*, their main Body embarked on the other side, under the Conduct, as before, of Brigadier *Macintosh* of *Borlam*, and quite out of sight

fight of the Ships; and by this means came safe ashore, as above.

Whilst this Design was putting in Execution, the Earl of *Mar* made a feigned March from *Perth* toward *Dumblain*, as if he designed to attempt to cross the *Forth* at *Sterling-Bridge*, or thereabouts, with an intent to divert the Duke of *Argyle* from falling upon those that had crossed the *Firth* as before; nor was this part of their Design ineffectual, for it obliged the Duke of *Argyle* to return to *Sterling* in all haste; which you shall have related afterwards.

The Highlanders having thus crossed the *Firth*, and refresh'd themselves but one Night at *Haddingtown*, march'd directly towards *Edinburgh*, where they caused greater Fear, than there was real Danger; for unless their Number had been greater, it was as unlikely they should be able to force that City, as it was improbable that City should have resisted them had their Number been greater. It was indeed supposed that they expected to be joined by the Rabble, and to have rais'd some Tumult in the City in their Favour; but by the good Conduct of the Magistrates, and the Unanimity of the Citizens, who immediately took Arms and form'd themselves, they were disappointed,

ed, and especially by the speedy Approach of the Duke of *Argyle*, who, on notice of their Approach, came with a swift March from *Sterling* with a Detachment of Dragoons to the Assistance of the Citizens.

The Rebels march'd up within sight of the City ; but finding no Numbers come out to them, and being informed as well of the Posture of the Citizens, as of the Approach of the Duke of *Argyle*, and, which was more than all, being sensible of the Weakness of their own Power, they halted, and calling a short Council, they resolv'd to attack *Leith* ; so they turn'd to the Right, and marching to *Leith* they entred the Town without Resistance.

Here they were entire Masters of the Place ; and that they might not be fallen on to their Disadvantage, they marched over the Bridge, and posted themselves in the old demolished Fort there built by *Oliver Cromwell*, and call'd the Citadel. Here they began to Fortify ; and first they went on board the Ships in the Harbour, and seized several Pieces of Cannon, with Powder and Ball, and what else was proper for their Defence, together with a good Quantity of Brandy, Meal, Flesh, and other Provisions ; and here they continued all *Friday* and *Saturday*
the

the 13th and 14th of *October*. On *Saturday* the Duke of *Argyle*, who, as above, had come from *Sterling*, upon notice of their coming over the *Firth*, and had first given the Forces he had brought with him a little time to refresh themselves after their long and hasty March, I say, on *Saturday* march'd down from *Edinburgh* with the 400 Horse and 200 Foot which he brought with him, and had mounted upon Country Horses for Expedition, to whom he join'd 400 Militia, and the Town-Guard of *Edinburgh* of 120 Men: With these his Grace set out of *Edinburgh* about ten in the Morning; but finding the Highlanders so well intrenched, that it was impracticable to attack them without Cannon, by reason the Horse he had with him could do him little or no Service, he returned to *Edinburgh* about two in the Afternoon, and gave Orders that necessary Preparations should be made for attacking the Rebels with Artillery the next Day.

The Forces which his Grace commanded were part of Lord *Portmore's*, commonly called the *Scots Gray*, part of Lieutenant-General *Carpenter's*, and the Earl of *Stairs's* Dragoons, part of *Shannon's*, part of Lord *Forfar's*, and part of the *Scots Fuziliers Foot*, besides the Militia
above,

above, and several Noblemen and Gentlemen Voluntiers.

The Rebels still expected that great Numbers from *Edinburgh* would have come out and joined them, being encouraged by the good Posture they were in ; which, had it happened, they had yet a strong Inclination to attempt to enter the City ; but seeing there was no longer Expectation of Encouragement (for there only came six or seven Gentlemen to them, and gave them an Account that no body stirr'd, and that the Town was in a Posture to oppose any Attempt they should make,) and being likewise informed of the Preparations that the Duke of *Argyle* was making to fall upon them the next Day ; that same *Saturday* Night, about seven a Clock, they prepared to be gone, resolving to make a Retreat under the Favour of the Darkness of the Night. Before they did this, they sent off a Boat with an Express to the Earl of *Mar*, to acquaint him with their Proceedings. As soon as the Boat went off, they discharged one of their Cannon after her, to make the Men of War imagine her an Enemy to the Rebels. Nor did that Stratagem fail, but fully answered the Design ; the Boat escap'd unpursu'd, and returned to them again with Letters from
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the Earl of *Mar*, and new Orders, about three Hours before they left *Seaton-House*. Night being come, all things were made ready with the greatest Caution and Secrecy imaginable for their Retreat, which they performed in the deepest Silence, taking the Advantage of the Low Ebb of the Tide, they marched off by the Head of the *Peer* on the Sands, crossing the Mouth of the River no deeper than to the Knees in Water, making Eastward; so covered their Retreat, and came safe to *Seaton-House*, leaving about Forty behind them that had made too free with the Brandy which they found in the Custom-House, besides some Stragglers, that lag'd behind in their March. Several little odd Accidents happened to them in that March, occasioned by the Darkeness of the Night, and the Mistakes natural to Attempts of that nature: First of all, when they came near *Musleburg*, some People from the end of that Town fired upon their Front, but did no Harm, yet occasioned a great Disorder among them. At first this made the Highlanders suspect all Horsemen for Enemies; the Consequence of which was very unhappy to one of their own Number, a Gentleman of no mean Quality, Character and Fortune, and who had just joined them,

whose

whose Name was Mr. *Alexander Maloch*, of *Mutree-Shields* : This Gentleman being on Horseback, was challenged by a Highlander in his Language. To which the Gentleman being a Stranger, and not able to answer in that Dialect, the Highlander shot him dead upon the Spot : The Brigadier took what Money and Gold he had about him, which was about sixty Guinea's, and left him ; for they could not stay to bury him. Soon after this, viz. about a Mile farther from *Musleburgh*, on the other side of the Town, they were again alarm'd with the Noise of Guns firing upon the Front : And here the like Mistake occasion'd the like Mischief ; for taking a Party of their own Men for Enemies, the foremost of the Body fired upon them, and killed a Serjeant belonging to the Earl of *Mar's* Regiment, and a private Soldier. The Night proved so very Dark, that they could not distinguish Friends from Enemies ; which was their Happiness one way, as it prevented their being discovered and pursued ; but their great Mischief another way, as it made them liable to such false Alarms, and made them kill their own Friends instead of Enemies : At last they arrived at *Seaton-House* about two in the Morning ; which is an
ancient

ancient Castle, very large, encompass'd with a very strong, high Stone Wall, but no Ditch. Here some of their Men join'd them, who crossed the *Firth* farther Eastward, had not landed so soon, and had not been able to come up to them on their March to *Leith*; these Men brought them an Account of the Earl of *Strathmore*, and other Gentlemens being forc'd ashore on the Isle of *May*, that were obliged to return to the Earl of *Mar*. On *Sunday* the 16th of *October*, whilst they were in *Seaton-House*, several of His Majesty's Forces, join'd with the well-affected Gentlemen of the Country, came from *Edinburgh* and appeared near *Preston-Pans*, which gave an Alarm to the Highlanders; upon which, a Party marched out of the Castle, and formed themselves in order to receive those that appeared against them: But those from *Edinburgh* having made a Halt, retir'd; which the Rebels likewise did into their Garrison at *Seaton-House*. Upon *Monday* the 17th, the Earl of *Roths* with 300 Gentlemen Volunteers, and the Lord *Torphichen* with 200 Dragoons which the Duke of *Argyle* had left, marched to *Seaton-House*, but found the Rebels so strongly posted, that it was impossible to dislodge or reduce them without Artillery. This

still animated the Rebels, and a good Body advanc'd, as if they would charge the Gentlemen, and some Shot were exchanged, but at too great a Distance to do any Harm on either side; and the King's Troops seeing no good to be done, retired.

On *Sunday* the Duke of *Argyle* having Intelligence from *Sterling* that the Earl of *Mar*, and the Rebels under his Command, were marching from *Perth*, he returned to *Sterling* to observe the Motion of the Rebels, leaving a Party to protect the People of *Edinburgh* from the Insults of the Rabble. This was the Earl of *Mar*'s feigned March to withdraw the Duke of *Argyle* from attempting any thing upon the Highlanders that had crossed the *Firth*: He gave out he would pass the *Forth* with all his Army, either at *Sterling* or at the Bridge of *Down*. They began their March in the Night, *October 17*, and advanced in three Bodies; but upon the notice that the Duke of *Argyle* was returned from pursuing his Friends, he marched back to *Perth*: All this was a Stratagem and an Amusement, which indeed succeeded, for he got his Design answer'd, and broke the Measures of the Duke of *Argyle*, who resolv'd to attack *Seaton-House*. As to the Earl of *Mar*,

Mar, he was resolv'd not to cross the *Forth* till he had got all the Clans together, and had reduced the Earl of *Sutherland*, whom if he should leave unvanquished upon his Rear, might prove fatal to his Designs, and expose all he had gained without Opposition, to be regained by that Lord.

The Highlanders continued all this while at *Seaton-House*, and sent out Parties to bring in Provisions, of which they brought in great Plenty, as Cows, Sheep, Meal, &c. and gave out that they resolv'd to fortify there, and make *Seaton-House* a Magazine, while they raised an Army, as they pretended also, as well from the Country round about, and from *Edinburgh*, and from other Friends to their Design in the West part of *Scotland*, who were preparing to join them, as from the Borders of *England*, where by this time Numbers were risen in *Northumberland* by the Lords and others in *England*; of whom I shall say farther hereafter.

While they continued here they discovered a Boat at Sea, making towards the Shore from the *Fife-side* of the *Firth*: The Men of War fired very hotly at her; but the Boat keeping to the Windward at a distance, she got safe to Shore.

This was the same Boat that went off from *Leith*, and brought News concerning their Friends Proceedings at *Perth*, and Orders to march toward *England*, to join the New-risen Rebels in *Northumberland*. The Boat landed them at a small Harbour called *Port-Seaton*, a small Town where Ships used to take in Coal and Salt. Presently after these Orders, (*viz.*) on *Tuesday* the 18th, two Gentlemen brought them an Account of the Infurrection in *Northumberland* for the Pretender, under the Command of Mr. *Forster*; and of the South-Country Scots Gentlemen, under the Command of the Lord Viscount *Kenmure*: Upon those several Pieces of Intelligence, they altered their Resolution of continuing at *Seaton-House*, and at the same time receiving also an Express from Mr. *Forster*, inviting them to meet him at *Kelsey* on the Border; they resolved to march next Day to meet him. This was *Wednesday* the 19th, which they did accordingly, setting out in the Morning for a small Country Town called *Longformacbus*, which is seventeen long Scots Miles from *Seaton-House*. During this Day's March, several of the Highlanders lagged behind and deserted. As soon as Major-General *Wightman* received Intelligence of their Motion, he

he marched from *Edinburgh* with 80 Dragoons, 50 Militia, and some Volunteers to attack their Rear ; but returned in the Evening, *re infecta*, having only taken up some of the Rebel Deserters whom he made Prisoners, and left the 50 Foot in *Seaton-House*, recovering a great deal of their Spoil which was left there behind. *Macintosh*, and his Men set out again from their Night's Quarters at *Longformachus*, towards another small Town in the *Mers* called *Dunse*, the Place of Nativity of the learned and famous *Joannes Dunse Scotus*: Here they drew up in Order of Battle whilst the Pretender was proclaimed, retiring afterwards to their Quarters in that Town. The next Morning being *Saturday* the 22d of *October*, they march'd towards *Kelso*, which Town the *English* and *Scots* Horse, that is to say the *Northumberland* and *Nithsdale* Rebels, entred the same Evening. The Highlanders, in Compliment to their Bravery and Conduct shewn in passing the *Firth*, and so often facing their Enemies, were met by the *Scots* Horse at *Ednambridge*: It seems the Cavalry were so earnest to pay this Respect to the Foot, that they made no stop at *Kelso*, but went forward to conduct the Foot into the Town ; which they did accordingly about three a Clock

in the Afternoon ; so that at that time all their Forces were got together. Brigadier *Macintosh*, upon all the Marches he had made, and in all the several Towns he came at, had been very careful to collect all the Money he could get of the Publick Revenue. In one of his Marches, passing by the House of one Dr. *Sinclair*, he gave Orders to set fire to it ; but one Mr. *William Miller*, who had the Title of Major in his Regiment, by his Persuasion, prevailed with him to forbear those Reprisals for the present. The Reason why the Brigadier would have done this, is as follows: This Dr. *Sinclair* and the Laird of *Humby* had Intelligence that there were some People got together in the House of Mr. *Hepburne* of *Keith*, near *Haddingtoun*: This *Hepburne* was a Gentleman known to be a Friend of the Pretender's, and no question, had a Design to join the Rebels. Upon this Intelligence, Dr. *Sinclair* got some of the Militia and Neighbours together to attack them, and, if possible, prevent their Design. Mr. *Hepburne* and his Sons, with a Relation and some Servants, who were all that were in the House, took the Alarm, and finding they were beset, mounted their Horses resolving to break thro' and make their Escapes :

scapes : Dr. *Sinclair* and his Troop finding they were better mounted than his Men, and resolute also not to surrender, fired upon them, and killed Mr. *Hepburne's* younger Son, a Youth wonderfully lamented, being singularly beloved by all that knew him. Dr. *Sinclair* was blamed for this, and his too particular Behaviour against Mr. *Hepburne*, who was his next Door Neighbour : And this caused many to press the Brigadier to fire his House ; which however, as above, was not done. This was the first Blood spilt in the Rebellion.

Having thus brought all the Rebels into *Kelso* to their Rendezvous, as well from the North and West Parts of *Scotland* as from *England*, I must leave them there a little, while I go back into *Northumberland*, and give some Account of the Rising and Motion of the Rebels on that side ; as also of some of their Measures and Marches, till they came and join'd the Highland Foot at *Kelso*, as above.

There had been Measures concerted at *London*, by the Pretender's Friends, sometime before the Insurrection in *Northumberland* broke out ; to which Capt. *John Shaf-toe*, a Half-pay Officer since Executed at *Preston*, and Capt. *John Hunter* of *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*,

berland, who had a Commission from *Q. Anne* to raise an independant Company, but did not, assisted : Besides these two, there was one Captain *Robert Talbott*, an *Irishman* and *Papist*, formerly in the *French Service* ; who likewise being acquainted with the Design in *August 1715*, took Shipping at *London*, and went to *Newcastle*. By this Gentleman the Resolutions taken at *London* were first communicated to their Friends in the North of *England*, and Means us'd to persuade and prepare the Gentlemen they had embark'd with them to be ready to rise upon warning given. And here, that I may enter into that part of the History of the Rebellion, which tho' most useful to be known, yet none of those who have pretended to write of these things, have yet been able to give a particular Account of, or indeed so much as to entertain any Notion of ; I say, that this needful part may be laid open, I must observe, That as it is very reasonable to suppose a Design of this Consequence could not be carried on by the Measures concerted, the Parties furnished, prepar'd and brought together in a Posture fit to appear in Arms against the Government, without long Debates, frequent Correspondences, carrying and recarrying of Letters, Orders, &c. and abundance

abundance of People employ'd to concert Measures, and ripen up things to the height they afterwards were brought to; so it is worth observing how that Intelligence was managed, and in what manner they went on for some time before they broke out into open Rebellion. And first we are to observe, that the grand Design was laid at *London*, and that there the Measures were principally concerted; from whence, as from the Center, conveying Life and Vigour to the Parts, a Correspondence and Intelligence was settled with all the Conspirators in the several Parts of *Britain*. But as this was a Correspondence of too much Weight to be carry'd on by the ordinary Conveyance of Letters, there were several Gentlemen from sundry Parts in the Kingdom, riding from Place to Place as Travellers; pretending a Curiosity to view the Country, and thereby carrying Intelligence, discoursing with Persons, and settling and appointing their Business. The principal Men entrusted with these Negotiations, were Colonel *Oxburgh*, Mr. *Nich. Wogan*, Mr. *Charles Wogan*, and Mr. *James Talbott*, all *Irish*, and Papists: A second Class of Agents consisted of Mr. *Clifton*, Brother to Sir *Gerwase Clifton*, and Mr. *Beaumont*, both Gentlemen

tlemen of *Nottinghamshire*, and Mr. *Buxton* a Clergyman of *Derbyshire*. All these
 rid like Gentlemen, with Servants and
 Attendants, and were armed with Sword
 and Pistols. They kept always moving,
 and travelled from Place to Place, till
 things ripened for Action. The first step
 towards their appearing in Arms was,
 when, about the latter end of *September*,
 the Lord *Derwentwater* had notice that
 there was a Warrant out from the Secre-
 tary of State to apprehend him, and that
 the Messengers were come to *Durham*
 that were to take him. Mr. *Forster* like-
 wise having notice of the like Warrant
 against him. Upon this News, they had
 a full Meeting of the Parties concern'd,
 in *Northumberland*; where consulting all
 the Circumstances of their Friends, and
 of the Interest they were embark'd in,
 they boldly resolv'd, That there was no
 Safety any longer in shifting from Place
 to Place; that in a few Days they would
 be all secur'd, and clapp'd up in several
 Prisons, or hurried away to *London*;
 that as they should be severally confin'd,
 so they would be severally examined, and
 none could say what the other should an-
 swer: So that for fear of betraying one
 another, they should be really brought
 to do it; That now was the time to
 shew

shew their Loyalty to their King (*Pretender*,) and that if this Opportunity was lost, they had no room to hope for another; and that therefore they would immediately appear in Arms. Pursuant to this Resolution, an Appointment was made, and notice of it sent to all their Friends, to meet the next Morning which was the 6th of *October*, at a Place called *Green-rig*, which was done accordingly; for *Mr. Forster*, with several Gentlemen, in Number at first about Twenty, met at the Rendezvous; but made no stay here, thinking the Place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*; from whence they might discover any that came either to join them or to oppose them. They had not been long here but they discovered the Earl of *Derwentwater*, who came that Morning from his own Seat at *Dilstone*, with some Friends, and all his Servants, mounted some upon his Coach-Horses, and others upon very good useful Horses, and all very well arm'd: They halted at the Seat of *Mr. Errington*, where there were several other Gentlemen appointed to meet, who join'd the Lord *Derwentwater*; and then they came on altogether to the Places appointed, and where the fore-
 named

named Company attended. They were now near 60 Horse, most Gentlemen and their Attendants ; when, calling a short Council, it was concluded to march towards the River *Coquett*, to a Place called *Plainfield*: Here they were join'd by others, who came straggling in, and having made some stay here, they resolved to go that Night to *Rothbury*, a small Market-Town : Here they stay'd all Night ; and next Morning being the 7th of *October*, their Number still encreasing, they marched to *Warkworth*, another Market-Town upon the Seacoast, and strong by its Situation, famous formerly for a Castle, the Body of which still remains : Here they continued till *Monday* ; during which time, nothing material happened, except that on *Sunday* Morning Mr. *Forster*, who now stiled himself General, sent Mr. *Buxton* their Chaplain to Mr. *Ion* the Parson of the Parish, with Orders for him to pray for the Pretender as King ; and in the *Litany*, for Mary Queen-Mother, and all the dutiful Branches of the Royal Family ; and to omit the usual Names of King George, the Prince and Princess ; which Mr. *Ion* wisely declining, the other, viz. Mr. *Buxton*, took Possession of the Church, read Prayers and Preached. Mean while
the

the Parson went to *Newcastle* to consult his own Safety, and acquaint the Government with what happened. The next thing they did, was openly to Proclaim the *Pretender* as King of *Great-Britain*, &c. It was done by Mr. *Forster* in disguise, and by the sound of Trumpet, and all the Formality that the Circumstances and Place would admit. It may be observed that this was the first Place where the *Pretender* was so avowedly pray'd for and proclaimed as King of these Realms. *Buxton's* Sermon gave mighty Encouragement to his Hearers, being full of Exhortations, flourishing Arguments, and cunning Insinuations to be Hearty and Zealous in the Cause; for he was a Man of a comely Personage, and could humour his Discourse to induce his Hearers to believe what he preached, having very good Natural Parts, and being pretty well Read.

On *Monday* the 10th of *October*, they marched to *Morpeth*, a very considerable Market-Town belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*, and gives Title to his eldest Son. Upon their March to this Town, their Number got a considerable Addition: At *Felton* Bridge they were joined by 70 *Scots* Horse, or rather Gentlemen from the Borders; and they had been considerably

rably encreased before, in their March from *Warkworth*, at *Alnwick*, and other Places ; so that at their entring this Town they were 300 strong, all Horse ; for they would entertain no Foot, else their Number would have been very large : But as they neither had nor could provide Arms for those they had mounted, they gave the common People good Words, and told them that they would soon be furnished with Arms and Ammunition, and that then they would Lift Regiments to form an Army : This was upon the Expectation they had of surprising *Newcastle* ; in which case, they did not question to have had as many Foot as they pleased. Here Mr. *Forster* receiv'd an Account that Mr. *Lancelot Errington*, and some others, had surpris'd the Castle in the *Holy Island* ; which is a small Fort guarded by a few Soldiers sent Weekly from the Garrison at *Berwick*. *Errington* undiscovered, took Boat and went to Sea, and with his Companions landed under the Cover of the Wall, and got into the Fort by Surprise ; tho' he kept the Possession but a very little while, for the Governor of *Berwick* having an immediate Account of the Action, and resolving, if possible, to recover the Place before *Errington* could be supply'd with Men

Men and Provisions, detach'd a Party of 30 Men of his Garison, with about 50 Voluntiers of the Inhabitants, and marching over the Sands at Low-water-mark, attack'd the Fort, and took it Sword in hand; *Errington* himself attempting to make his Escape, was wounded and taken Prisoner, with several others; but, with his Brother, afterwards got out of *Berwick* in Disguise. The Design of taking this Fort was to give Signals to any Ships that seem'd to make to the Coast to land Soldiers; for by the Assurances they had from their Friends beyond Sea, they expected them to land on that Coast with Supplies of Arms and Officers; but they never came till they were gone for *Scotland*, and then Two Ships appear'd off at Sea, and made their Signals; but having no Answer from the Shore, made Sail Northward. The Rebellion was now formed, and they were all in a Body at *Morpeth*, promising themselves great things at *Newcastle*, and several Gentlemen joined them there, and several of the Country People came in, and offer'd to Lift; but they still declined them, and prepared to march to *Newcastle*. But before they went, Mr. *Buxton* the Clergyman taking on himself the Office of a Herald, as well as of a Churchman,

Churchman, Proclaimed the *Pretender*. Here it was that they receiv'd their first Disappointment (*viz.*) in the Affair of *Newcastle*, which they expected should open its Gates to them; but finding some Delay in it, they promised themselves to have it in a few Days; and in the mean time they turn'd a little to the Westward, and march'd to *Hexam*, an ancient Town famous for it's Privileges and Immunities, and its once stately, but now ruinous Cathedral, formerly, for many Years a Bishop's Seat, of which three are canonized. This Town is distant from *Morpeth* 14 long Miles: Here they were join'd by some more *Scots* Horse. From this Town they all march'd, few or none knowing whither, and went three Miles distant to a Heath or Moor adjoining to *Dilston*, the Seat of the Lord *Derwentwater*, and there they made a Halt; this was with Design, as was thought, to go to *Newcastle* for the Surprise of that Town, which, as above, they hoped to have done sooner: It is certain they had a great many Friends there; and it was reported among them that Sir *William Blackett* would joyn them. If all that was said of this Gentleman's Conduct was true, they were not in the wrong to have some Dependence

dence upon his Assistance : But whether or not he was actually engaged, remains a Secret ; for he managed so well as to keep out of the way. His Interest is indeed very considerable in the Town of *Hexam*, being one of their Representatives in Parliament, and he has in his Service a great many Colliers and Keelmen, who in flat Boats call'd Keels, convey the Coals from the Collieries to the Ships. He has likewise several Leadmines on that side the Country, which employ a great many Hands : Whether his Interest was so strong among these People, as to bring them to take Arms, by his Order, against their Sovereign, I will not say, or whether they received any Orders of that kind from him : But this we had a certain Account of, (*viz.*) that these Men were ordered to provide themselves with Arms, and to be ready to go with One who is a kind of Steward or Governour over them, where-ever he should direct ; but whether this was to be for the Service of the Government, or for the Service of the Pretender is not certainly known. Charity bids us hope they were engaged by this Steward for the King's Interest, especially because he has always pretended to be engaged in the Interest

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of His Majesty King GEORGE. The Rebels that had gone out of *Hexam* to the Moor, as above, return'd again to their Quarters, having certain Intelligence from some of their Friends in *Newcastle*, that even before any Regular Forces entered that Town, the Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenants having first had some Suspicion, and soon after positive Intelligence of the Designs of the Rebels to surprise the Town, had effectually prevented it, and had taken all imaginable Precaution for their Security, raising immediately what Men they could, securing and imprisoning all Papists and suspected Persons, arming and encouraging the Inhabitants for their own Defence. Indeed the Magistrates shew'd a very commendable Zeal in the Interest of the King, and the Service of the Town, and no less Courage in their Application to the Defence of the Place. They got the Militia and Train-bands, who about that Time were order'd to muster at *Killinworth-Moor* near the Town, to be taken into it for its better Defence: At the same time the Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Northumberland* repaired with his Friends to *Newcastle*: And the Gentry of those Parts, after his Lordship's Example, mounted their

their Neighbours and Tenants on Horseback, so that the Town was full of Horses and Men, both Townsmen and Countrymen unanimously declaring for King GEORGE. However, the Chiefs of the Rebels having great Interest in that Place, the Inhabitants were not altogether without Fear ; nor were the High Party in the Town without the Folly of discovering their Well-wishes to the Rebels at *Hexam*, and even using some threatening Expressions, which the other ought to understand as so many Declarations of their Intentions, if the Power had been in their Hands to have acted according to their apparent Intentions.

This perhaps was partly the Occasion of laying aside the former Divisions and Prejudices between one another as Churchmen and Dissenters ; the Latter cheerfully offering, and the Former freely accepting the Offer, an Association was entered into by both Sides, for the mutual Defence of their Lives and Estates ; and a Body of 700 Volunteers were arm'd by the Town for their immediate Guard, without Distinction ; and the Keel-men, being mostly Dissenters, offered a Body of 700 Men more, to be always ready at half an Hour's Warning, which was also accepted at the same time the Association

fociation aforeſaid was ſign'd by the whole
 Body of the Loyal Inhabitants. In the
 middle of this Hurry alſo a Battallion
 of Foot, and Part of a Regiment of Dra-
 goons being order'd out of *Yorkſhire* for
 the Security of the Town, having made
 long Marches, they came to *Newcaſtle*,
 and then all their Fears vaniſhed : But
 they were all farther eas'd of theſe Diſ-
 orders a few Days after ; for Lieutenant-
 General *Carpenter* having been ordered
 by the Government to go in Purſuit of
 the Rebels, with *Hotſham's* Regiment of
 Foot, *Cobham's Moleſworth's*, and *Chur-*
chill's Dragoons, for which Purpoſe he
 ſet out from *London* the 15th of *Octo-*
ber, and arrived at *Newcaſtle* the 18th,
 where he began to prepare for attacking
 the Gentlemen at *Hexam*, waiting a little
 for the coming up of the Troops. It is
 to be obſerved that the Town of *New-*
caſtle is not a Place to be entred as an
 open Village, but has an old and very
 ſtrong Stone-Wall about it, and very good
 Gates to defend it, tho' they had no Can-
 non planted : The Gates alſo were wall-
 ed up with Stone and Lime very ſtrong,
 in caſe of any Attempt ; ſo that without
 Cannon they could not have aſſaulted
 the Town. But the Rebels gave them
 no occaſion to make uſe either of Walls
 or

or Gates, as we shall see presently. But first let us see how they spent their Time at *Hexam*. They staid there but three Days, tho' they were not idle during that time; for first they seized all the Arms and Horses they could lay their Hands on, especially such as belong'd to those who were well-affected Subjects to the King. Next, here Mr. *Buxton* went to the Minister of the Town, and desired him or his Curate to Read Prayers, commanding that in them he should mention the *Pretender* by Name, as King *James III*. The Minister modestly declined it; for there was no speaking boldly to them; so Mr. *Buxton* officiated, and performed as usual. The Night before they left the Town, they were all drawn round the *Cross* in the Market-Place, where the *Pretender* was proclaimed, and the Proclamation fixed to the *Cross*, which remain'd there several Days after the Rebels were gone; which, some say, is an Evidence of that Town's good Inclination to His Majesty King *GEORGE*; and others added, that the Bailiff and Clerk were too much of the Principles of the Lord of their Manor Sir *W—* *Bla—*, else they would have exerted their Authority, and shewed their Loyalty in pulling down that Proclamation. Here

the Rebels had notice of the Viscount *Kenmure's*, the Earls of *Nithsdale's*, *Carnwath's*, and *Winton*, who had taken Arms in *Nithsdale*, *Dumfreis-shire*, and other Places in the West of *Scotland*, having entred *England* to join them, and that they were come to *Rothbury*. Upon this News, but more especially on the aforesaid News of General *Carpenter* preparing to attack them, they march'd out of *Hexam*, *Wednesday* the 19th of *October*, and making a long March, they joyned them and their Men that Night; and both of them next Day march'd to *Wooler* in the County of *Northumberland*. Here they rested all *Friday*, where I, with some Men which I had enlisted, joyned them, and was kindly entertained by the Chiefs. Here Mr. *Errington* brought them an Account of the *Highlanders* being also coming to join them, and that they were advanced to *Dunse*, of which a full Account has been given already. On this News they march'd for *Kelso* in *Scotland*. On this Day's March they seiz'd several Horses, and made Mr. *Selbye* a Gentleman of that Country a Prisoner. A little before they came to *Kelso*, they made a Halt upon a Moor; and there the Gentlemen formed into Troops, were drawn out by themselves, and called over; not only

only by their Names, but by their design'd Offices for the several Troops: And it is to be observ'd, that to each Troop they assigned Two Captains, being the only way they had to oblige so many Gentlemen. Whilst they were thus employed, there came some Townsmen from *Kelso*, and acquainted the Rebels that Sir *William Bennet* of *Grubbet*, who had been in *Kelso*, and had barricado'd the Town, pretending to keep Post there, had gone off in the Night with his Men, [who were only Militia and Servants, and that they might enter the Town without Opposition; so they continued their March, and crossing the River *Tweed*, tho' very deep at that time, and rapid, they entred the Town. The Highlanders came into the Town presently after from the *Scots* Side, with their Bag-pipes playing, led by old *Mackintosh*; but they made a very indifferent Figure; for the Rain and their long Marches had extremely fatigued them, tho' their old Brigadier, who march'd at the Head of them, appeared very well. Next Day being *Sunday* the 23d of *October*, my Lord *Kenmure* having the chief Command in *Scotland*, ordered me to preach at the Great Kirk of *Kelso*, and not at the Episcopal Meeting-House,

and gave further Orders that all the Men should attend Divine Service. Mr. *Buxton* read Prayers, and I Preached on these Words, *Deut. xxi. 17.* the latter part of the Verse, *The Right of the First-born is his.* All the Lords that were Protestants, with a vast Multitude of People attended : It was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behav'd, and answer'd the Responses according to the Rubrick, to the Shame of many that pretend to more polite Breeding. In the Afternoon Mr. *William Irwine* a Scots Clergyman and Nonjuror read Prayers, and Preach'd a Sermon full of Exhortations to his Hearers to be zealous and steddy in the Cause : He told me afterwards that he had formerly preach'd the same Sermon in the Highlands of *Scotland* to the Lord Viscount *Dundee* and his Men, when they were in Arms against King *William*, a little before the Battle of *Gilleycranky*. Next Morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the Churchyard, and so march'd in Order to the Market-place, with Colours flying, Drums beating, and Bag-pipes playing, and there form'd a Circle, the Lords and other Gentlemen standing in the Centre : There was an inner Circle formed also

also by the Gentlemen Voluntiers : Then Silence being enjoined, the Trumpet sounded ; after which the *Pretcnder* was proclaimed by one *Seaton Barnes*, who assum'd the Title of Earl of *Dumferling*. The Proclamation was to this Effect :

“ Whereas by the Decease of the late
 “ King *James* the VIIth, the Imperial
 “ Crowns of these Realms did lineally
 “ descend to his lawful Heir and Son
 “ our Sovereign *James* the VIIIth : We
 “ the Lords, &c. do declare him our
 “ lawful King over *Scotland, England, &c.*

Then was Read the following *Manifesto* of the Earl of *Mar*.

MANIFESTO by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this Time in asserting the undoubted Right of their lawful Sovereign *James VIII.* by the Grace of God, King of *Scotland, England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. and for relieving this his ancient Kingdom from the Oppressions and Grievances it lies under.

“ His

“ **H**IS Majesty's Right of Blood
 “ to the Crowns of these Realms
 “ is undoubted, and has never been dis-
 “ puted or arraigned by the least Cir-
 “ cumstance of lawful Authority.

“ By the Laws of God, by the anci-
 “ ent Constitutions, and by the positive
 “ unrepeal'd Laws of the Land, we
 “ are bound to pay his Majesty the Du-
 “ ty of Loyal Subjects. Nothing can
 “ absolve us from this our Duty of Sub-
 “ jection and Obedience; the Laws of
 “ God require our Allegiance to our
 “ rightful King; the Laws of the Land
 “ secure our Religion and other Interests;
 “ and his Majesty giving up himself to
 “ the Support of his Protestants Sub-
 “ jects, puts the Means of securing to
 “ us our Concerns Religious and Civil
 “ in our own Hands.

“ Our Fundamental Constitution has
 “ been entirely altered and sunk amidst
 “ the various Shocks of unstable Faction;
 “ while in the searching out new Expe-
 “ dients pretended for our Security, it
 “ has produced nothing but daily Dis-
 “ appointments, and has brought us and
 “ our Posterity under a precarious Depen-
 “ dence upon foreign Councils and Inte-
 “ rests, and the Power of Foreign Troops.

“ The

“ The late unhappy Union, which
 “ was brought about by the mistaken
 “ Notions of some, and the ruinous and
 “ selfish Designs of others, has prov’d so
 “ far from lessening and healing the Dif-
 “ ferences betwixt his Majesty’s Sub-
 “ jects of *Scotland* and *England*, that it
 “ has widened and increased them; and
 “ it appears by Experience so inconsistent
 “ with the Rights, Priveleges, and Inte-
 “ rests of us and our good Neighbours
 “ and Fellow-Subjects of *England*, that
 “ the Continuance of it must inevitably
 “ ruin us, and hurt them : Nor can any
 “ Way be found out to relieve us, and
 “ restore our ancient and independent
 “ Constitution, but by restoring our
 “ rightful and natural King, who has
 “ the only undoubted Right to reign
 “ over us: Neither can we hope that
 “ the Party who chiefly contribute to
 “ bring us into Bondage, will at any
 “ time endeavour to work our Relief;
 “ since it is known how strenuously they
 “ opposed, in Two late Instances, the Ef-
 “ forts that were made by all *Scotsmen*
 “ by themselves, and supported by the
 “ best and wisest of the *English*, towards
 “ so desirable an End, as they will not ad-
 “ venture openly to disown the Dissoluti-
 “ of the Union to be.

“ Our

“ Our Substance has been waisted in
 “ in the late ruinous Wars ; and we see
 “ an unavoidable Prospect of having Wars
 “ continued on us and our Posterity, so
 “ long as the Possession of the Crown is
 “ not in the right Line.

“ The Hereditary Rights of the Sub-
 “ jects, tho’ confirm’d by Conventions
 “ and Parliaments, are now treated as of
 “ no Value or Force ; and past Services to
 “ the Crown and Royal Family, are now
 “ look’d upon as Grounds of Suspicion.

“ A pack’d up Assembly, who call
 “ themselves a *British Parliament*, have,
 “ as far as in them lies, inhumanely mur-
 “ der’d their own and our Sovereign,
 “ by promising a great Sum of Money
 “ as the Reward of so execrable a
 “ Crime.

“ They have proscribed, by unaccount-
 “ able and groundless Impeachments
 “ and Attainders, the worthy Patriots of
 “ *England*, for their honourable and suc-
 “ cessful Endeavours to restore Trade,
 “ Plenty, and Peace to these Nations.

“ They have broken in upon the Laws
 “ of both Countries, by which the Liber-
 “ ty of our Persons was secured ; they
 “ have empower’d a Foreign Prince (who
 “ notwithstanding his Expectation of the
 “ Crown for 15 Years, is still unac-
 “ quaint-

“ acquainted with our Manners, Customs,
 “ and Language) to make an absolute
 “ Conquest (if not timely prevented)
 “ of the Three Kingdoms, by investing
 “ himself with an unlimited Power, not
 “ only of raising unnecessary Forces at
 “ Home, but also of calling in Foreign
 “ Troops, ready to promote his uncon-
 “ troulable Designs: Nor can we be e-
 “ ver hopeful of its being otherwise in
 “ the Way it is in at present, for some
 “ Generations to come; and the sad Con-
 “ sequences of these unexampled Proceed-
 “ ings have really been so fatal to great
 “ Numbers of our Kinsmen, Friends, and
 “ Fellow-Subjects of both Kingdoms,
 “ that they have been constrain’d to a-
 “ bandon their Country, Houses, Wives,
 “ and Children, or give themselves up
 “ Prisoners, and perhaps Victims to be
 “ sacrificed at the Pleasure of Foreign-
 “ ers, and a few hot-headed Men of a
 “ restless Faction whom they employ.

“ Our Troops Abroad, notwithstanding
 “ of their long and remarkable good Servi-
 “ ces, have been treated, since the Peace,
 “ with Neglect and Contempt, and parti-
 “ cularly in *Holland*; and it is not now the
 “ Officers long Service, Merit, and Blood
 “ they have lost, but Money and Favour
 “ by which they can obtain Justice in
 “ their

“ their Preferments; so that it is evident
 “ the Safety of his Majesty’s Person, and
 “ Independency of his Kingdoms, call
 “ loudly for immediate Relief and De-
 “ fence.

“ The Consideration of these unhap-
 “ py Circumstances, with the due Re-
 “ gard we have to common Justice, the
 “ Peace and Quiet to us and our Poste-
 “ rity, and our Duty to his Majesty and
 “ his Commands, are the powerful Mo-
 “ tives that have engaged us in our pre-
 “ sent Undertakings, which we are firm-
 “ ly and heartily resolved to push to the
 “ utmost, and stand by one another to
 “ the last Extremity, as the only solid
 “ and effectual Means of putting an end
 “ to so dreadful a Prospect, as by our
 “ present Situation we have before our
 “ Eyes : And with faithful Hearts, true
 “ to our only rightful King, our Coun-
 “ try, and our Neighbours, we earnest-
 “ ly beseech and expect (as his Majesty’s
 “ Commands) the Assistance of all our
 “ true Fellow-Subjects, to second this
 “ our first Attempt; declaring hereby
 “ our sincere Intentions, That we will
 “ promote and concur, in all lawful
 “ Means, for settling a lasting Peace to
 “ these Lands, under the auspicious Go-
 “ vernment of our native-born rightful
 “ Sovereign,

“ Sovereign, the Direction of our Do-
 “ mestick Councils, and the Protection
 “ of our native Forces and Troops.

“ That we will in the same manner
 “ concur and endeavour to have our
 “ Laws, Liberties, and Properties secu-
 “ red by the Parliaments of both King-
 “ doms : That by the Wisdom of such
 “ Parliaments we will endeavour to have
 “ such Laws enacted, as shall give abso-
 “ lute Security to us, and future Ages,
 “ for the Protestant Religion, against all
 “ Efforts of Arbitrary Power, Popery,
 “ and all its other Enemies. Nor have
 “ we any Reason to be distrustful of the
 “ Goodness of God, the Truth and Pu-
 “ rity of our Holy Religion, or the known
 “ Excellency of his Majesty's Judgment,
 “ as not to hope that in due time, good
 “ Example and Conversation with our
 “ learned Divines, will remove these
 “ Prejudices, which we know his Edu-
 “ cation in a Popish Country has not ri-
 “ vetted in his royal discerning Mind ;
 “ and we are sure, as Justice is a Virtue
 “ in all Religions and Professions, so the
 “ doing of it to him will not lessen his
 “ good Opinion of ours.

“ That as the King is willing to give
 “ his royal Indemnity for all that is past,
 “ so he will cheerfully concur in passing
 “ general

“ general Acts of Oblivion, that our
 “ Fellow-Subjects who have been misled,
 “ may have a fair Opportunity of living
 “ with us in the same friendly manner
 “ we design to live with them.

“ That we will use our utmost En-
 “ deavours for redressing the bad Usage
 “ of our Troops Abroad, and bringing
 “ the Troops at Home to be on the same
 “ Foot and Establishment of Pay as those
 “ of *England*.

“ That we will sincerely and heartily
 “ go into such Measures as shall maintain
 “ effectually, and establish a right, firm,
 “ and lasting Union betwixt his Maje-
 “ sty’s ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, and
 “ our good Neighbours and Fellow-Sub-
 “ jects of the Kingdom of *England*.

“ The Peace of these Nations being
 “ thus settled, and we thus freed from Fo-
 “ reign Dangers, we will use our Endeavours to have the Army reduced to
 “ the usual Number of Guards and Gar-
 “ risons; and will concur in such Laws
 “ and Methods, as shall relieve us of the
 “ heavy Taxes and Debts now lying up-
 “ on us; and at the same time will sup-
 “ port the Publick Credit in all its Parts.

“ And we do hereby promise and en-
 “ gage, That every Officer who joins
 “ with us in our King and Country’s
 “ Cause,

“ Cause, shall not only enjoy the same
 “ Post he now does, but shall be advanced
 “ and preferr’d according to his Rank
 “ and Station, and the Number of Men
 “ he brings off with him to us; and each
 “ Foot-Soldier so joining with us, shall
 “ have Twenty Shillings sterling; and
 “ each Trooper or Dragoon, who brings
 “ Horse and Accoutrements along with
 “ him, Twelve Pounds sterling Gratuity,
 “ besides their Pay.

“ And in general, we shall concur
 “ with all our Fellow-Subjects in such
 “ Measures, as shall make us flourish at
 “ Home, and be formidable Abroad, under
 “ our rightful Sovereign, and the peace-
 “ ful Harmony of our ancient fundamen-
 “ tal Constitution, undisturbed by a *Pre-*
 “ *tender’s* Interests and Councils from
 “ Abroad, or a restless Faction at Home.

“ In so honourable, so good, and just
 “ a Cause, we do not doubt of the Assist-
 “ ance, Direction, and Blessing of Al-
 “ mighty God, who has so often suc-
 “ cour’d the Royal Family of *Stuarts*, and
 “ our Country, from sinking under Op-
 “ pression.

This *Manifesto* being ended, the Peo-
 ple with loud Acclamations shouted NO
 Union! NO Malt, NO Salt-TAX!
 E Then

Then the Highlanders returned to their Quarters, where they continued till *Thursday* ; during which time nothing material happened, but that they failed not here, as well as in all Places, to demand all the Publick Revenues, *viz.* of Excise, Customs, or Taxes, and to search for Arms, of which they found very few, unless some small Pieces of Cannon of different Size and Shape, which formerly belonged to *Hume-Castle*, and had been employ'd in former Ages in that strong Hold against the *English*, but were at this time brought from thence by Sir *William Bennet* afore-said, to be placed at the Barricadoes which he had made in the Streets leading to the Market-Place : They likewise found some broad Swords hid in the Church, and a small quantity of Gunpowder. There happened a very uncommon Accident while they remain'd here, which is worth recording, for the Singularity of it ; a Highlander having taken the Lock from his Musket, he laid down the Barrel, &c, cross the Arms of a Chair, whilst he at two Yards distance having cleaned, and trying the Lock, a spark of Fire flew from it directly and most exactly to the Touch-hole of the Piece which was loaded, and went off and wounded three Children sitting round the Fire : And it was

was the more strange, that at such a Distance, by meer Chance, a Spark should direct its way to the Touch-hole, and the Bullet should wound all the three Children, who did not sit in a Line.

There were no Hostilities used here, only the Horse going out a Forraging, went to a Seat of the Duke of *Roxburgh's* near the Town, and brought in some Hay. While they continued here, Dr. *Arthur*, a Gentleman concerned in that designed Attempt upon the Castle of *Edinburgh*, of very good Parts, and generous Education, and one Mr. *Cunningham* of *Barnes*, came from the Earl of *Mar* with Intelligence, and returned to him again; after which, the same Gentlemen came again to the Rebels when at *Preston*. Before I leave this Town, I shall give some Account of what Force the Rebel-Troops now consisted, as well because they were more in Number at that time, and better armed Men than at any time after; as also because so many different Accounts of their Numbers have been made publick, that it is not easy to know what may be depended upon. The Lord Viscount *Kenmure* had the chief Command whilst in *Scotland*: He was a grave full-aged Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and he himself of extraordinary

Knowledge and Experience in Publick and Political Business, tho' utterly a stranger to all Military Affairs; of a singular good Temper, and too Calm and Mild to be qualified for such a Post, being both plain in his *Dress* and in his *Address*. He made his first Rendezvous at *Lochmabben*: He had a Troop of Gentlemen with him, which, as he was General, was call'd the First Troop, the Command of which he gave to the Honourable *Bazil Hamilton* of *Beldoun*, Son to the Lord *Bazil Hamilton* Brother to the late Duke *Hamilton*, a very promising Youth, and who behaved himself with a great deal of Courage in the Action at *Preston*, tho' but very young.

The Second Troop was called the *Merse-Troop*, commanded by the Honourable *James Hume*, Brother to the Earl of *Hume*, who at that time was Prisoner in *Edinburgh-Castle*. This Youth is of a good Temper, but not very capable of having the Command of a Troop, as well on account of his Age as other Incapacities.

The Third Troop called the Earl of *Wintoun's* Troop, and commanded by himself. This Earl is of a very ancient Family, wants no Courage nor so much Capacity as his Friends find it for his Interest

terest to suggest, especially if we may judge by the Counsel he gave: He was always forward for Action, but never for the March into *England*; and he ceased not to thwart the Schemes which the *Northumberland* Gentlemen laid down for marching into *England*, not so much from the Certainty which, as he said, there was of their being overpower'd, as from the greater Opportunity which, as he insisted, there was of doing Service to their Cause in *Scotland*; in order to which, he argued with and pressed them back into *Scotland*, and leaving *Edinburgh* and *Sterling* to their Fate, to go and join the Western Clans, attacking in their way the Town of *Dumfries*, and *Glasgow*, and other Places, and then open a Communication with the Earl of *Mar* and his Forces. Which Advice, if followed, in all probability would have tended to their great Advantage, the King's Forces being then so small. However therefore some People have represented that Lord, of which I shall say no more, all his Actions both before a Prisoner, and whilst such till he made his Escape out of the *Tower*, speak him to be Master of more Penetration, than many of those whose Characters suffer no Blemish as to their Understandings. The Command of this Troop he

assigned, under himself, to Captain *James Dalziel* Brother to the Earl of *Carnwath*, who had been in King *GEORGE*'s Service formerly, and continued an Half-pay Officer for some time ; but upon engaging in the Rebellion, he threw up his Commission ; which piece of Policy was the saving of his Life, and prevented his being shot to death at *Preston* by Sentence of the Court-Martial among the Half-pay Officers. He was a very bold and brave young Gentleman, and shew'd it upon all Occasions.

The Fourth Troop belonged to *Robert Dalziel* Earl of *Carnwath* : This Nobleman was brought up under the Tuition of one who made it his study'd Care to instill the Principles of Hereditary Right, Passive Obedience, and Non-Resistance into his Mind. He study'd some time at *Cambridge*, and there suck'd in an intire Affection for the Liturgy and Worship in use in the Church of *England*, of which he was a sincere Devotee. He is singularly good in his Temper, and of an agreeable Affability, and delivers himself very handsomely in his Discourse. The Command of this Troop he gave over to his Uncle *John Dalziel* Esq; This Gentleman has a very good Character, and gave sufficient Demonstration of his Affections

fections to the *Pretender's* Interest, by his Courage and Conduct.

The Fifth Troop was under the Command of Captain *Lockart*, Brother to Mr. *Lockart* of *Carnwath*: He was a Half-pay Officer, and as such Try'd at *Preston* by a Court Martial; by which being found Guilty of Desertion, he, with three more, were shot to death there. He was a young Gentleman of a comely Appearance and very handsome: He gave several Instances of his Bravery: He died very Penitent for all his Sins, but would not acknowledge that to be one for which he suffer'd.

These Troops were well Mann'd, and indifferently Armed; but many of the Horses small, and in mean Condition: Besides these Troops, there were a great many Gentlemen Volunteers, who were not formed into any regular Troop.

The Foot designed to cross the *Forth*, were Regimented under these Colonels, being Six Regiments in all.

The First the Earl of *Strathmore's*; but he and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield* were forced back in their Passage by the King's Men of War, with several others, and obliged to go on Shore in the Isle of *May*. This Regiment was not in Highland-Dress, as

the others were. This Lord was a hearty Friend of the *Pretender's*, and had, some time before this Rebellion broke out, given it under his Hand that he would be ready the first Opportunity to rise and assist to establish him upon the Throne. This Paper which was signed by several others, was lodged in the Hands of Colonel *Hookes*, to be by him transported into *France*.

The Second Regiment was the Earl of *Mar's*.

The Third, I'm uncertain whose.

The Fourth the Lord *Nairn's*, Brother to the Duke of *Athol*; but by marrying an Heiress, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, changed his own Name for hers: He came over the *Firth* with a good many of his Men. He is a Gentleman well beloved in his Country, and by all that had the Advantage to be acquainted with him: He had formerly been at Sea, and gave signal Instances of his Bravery: He was a mighty Stickler against the Union. His Son, who was Lieutenant-Colonel to Lord *Charles*, took a great deal of Pains to encourage the Highlanders, by his own Experience, in their hard Marches, and always went with them on Foot thro' the worst and deepest Ways, and in Highland-Dress.

The

The Fifth Regiment was commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*, a younger Son of the Duke of *Athol's*: He had been a Cornet of Horse beyond Sea, and had gained a mighty good Character for his Bravery, even Temper, and graceful Deportment. Upon all the Marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the Head of his Regiment on Foot, in his Highland-Dress without Breeches: He would scarce accept of a Horse to cross the Rivers, which his Men, in that Season of the Year, forded above Mid-Thigh deep in Water. This powerfully gained him the Affection of his Men; besides his Courage and Behaviour at a Barrier, where His Majesty's Forces made a bold Attack, was singularly brave. When the Rebels surrender'd at *Preston*, he was made a Prisoner, and Try'd for a Deserter, being a Half-pay Officer, found Guilty, and condemned to be shot; but he pleaded that he had given his Commission into the Hands of a Relation before he entred the Rebellion: This, tho' he could not bring any Proof of at that time, yet with his Friends Interest, and His Majesty's gracious Reprieve, makes him yet enjoy his Life. When he was sensible that he was to die, being removed to the House of Mr. *Wingilby*,

gilby, with the other Half-pay Officers, he kept a true Decorum suitable to the Nobleness of his Mind, and the Bravery of his Soul, and not unsuitable to the Circumstance he was in.

The Sixth Regiment was called *Macintosh's* Battalion, a Relation of the Brigadier's, who is Chief of that Clan. This Regiment came intire over the *Forth*: He is a Gentleman that few People expected in the Rebellion, having always appeared on the other side, but the Persuasions of the Brigadier prevailed with him. He is a handsome, brave young Gentleman, of a very considerable Interest in his own Country; for he can bring into the Field upon any Occasion a 1000 stout, hardy, and well-armed Men.

Besides these Six Regiments (a List of whose Officers are hereafter inserted) there was a considerable Number called The Gentlemen Volunteers, commanded by Captain *Skeen* and Captain *Mac-Lean*, Lieutenant *David Stewart*, and Ensign *John Dunbar*, formerly an Exciseman.

The *English* were not altogether so well regulated nor so well armed as the *Scots*. The Troops were these.

First, the Earl of *Derwentwater's*, commanded by his Brother *Charles Radcliffe* Esq; and Captain *John Shastoe*. That Earl

Earl being a Papist, and a Relation of the Pretender's, having it seems had the Opportunity of being personally acquainted with him, all these Circumstances unhappily concurr'd to draw him into this Snare, to his Destruction, and the utter Ruin of the most flourishing Family in that part of *Britain*.

It was thought however that this Lord did not join either so heartily or so pre-meditately in this Affair as was expected ; for there is no doubt but he might have brought far greater Numbers of Men into the Field than he did ; the great Estate he possessed, the Money he could command, his Interest among the Gentlemen, and, which was above all, his being so well beloved as he was, could not have fail'd to have procur'd him many Hundreds of Followers more than he had, if he had thought fit ; for his Concerns in the Lead-Mines in *Alstone-Moor* are very considerable, where several Hundreds of Men are employ'd under him, and get their Bread from him, whom there is no doubt he might easily have engaged : Besides this, the sweetness of his Temper and Disposition, in which he had few Equals, had so secured him the Affection of all his Tenants, Neighbours, and Dependants, that Multitudes would have

have liv'd and dy'd with him: The Truth is, he was a Man form'd by Nature to be generally beloved; for he was of so universal a Beneficence, that he seem'd to live for others. As he lived among his own People, there he spent his Estate, and continually did Offices of Kindness and Good-neighbourhood to every body, as Opportunity offer'd. He kept a House of generous Hospitality and noble Entertainment, which few in that Country do, and none come up to. He was very Charitable to poor and distressed Families on all Occasions, whether known to him or not, and whether Papist or Protestant. His Fate will be sensibly felt by a great many who had no Kindness for the Cause he died in, and who heartily wish he had not forwarded his Ruin, and their Loss, by his Indiscretion in joining in this Mad as well as Wicked Undertaking. If the Warrant from the Secretary's Office for apprehending him had been made a greater Secret than it was, he might have been taken, and so his Ruin have been prevented. His Brother is Young and Bold, but too forward: He has a great deal of Courage, which wants a few more Years and a better Cause to improve it; there is room to hope he will never employ it in such an Adventure again. The

The Second Troop was the Lord *Wid-
rington's*, commanded by Mr. *Thomas Err-
rington of Beaufront*. This Lord's Fami-
ly has been famous in former Days for
many Noble Atchievements recorded in
History ; tho' there is but a small part of
that left in this Lord, for I could never
discover any thing like Boldness or Brave-
ry in him, especially after his Majesty's
Forces came before *Preston* : But of this
hereafter. Mr. *Errington* that command-
ed his Lordship's Troop, is a Gentleman
of a very ancient Family in *Northumber-
land* : He has very good Natural Parts,
and had been formerly an Officer in the
French Service, where he had got the
Reputation of a good Soldier. It is be-
lieved he would not have engaged in this
Rebellion, had not the many Obligations
he lay under to the Earl of *Derwentwater*
prevailed with him.

The Third Troop was commanded by
Captain *John Hunter*, born upon the
River *North-Tyne* in the County of *Nor-
thumberland* : He had obtained a Com-
mission in the latter end of Queen *Anne's*
Reign to raise an *Independant Company*,
but never received any Pay, nor listed
any Men, but when he made use of that
Commission now in the Rebellion. He
was famous for Running Uncustomed
Goods

Goods out of *Scotland* into *England*. He behav'd with great Vigour and Obstinacy in the Action at *Preston*, where he took Possession of some Houses during the Attack, and galled that brave Regiment of Brigadier *Preston's*, making a great Slaughter out of the Windows: He has since made his Escape out of *Chester-Castle*, and, as is said, got over into *Ireland*, and from thence to *France*.

The Fourth Troop was commanded by *Robert Douglass*, Brother to the Laird of *Finland* in *Scotland*: He signalized himself upon several Accounts, for going so often, so privately, and expeditiously betwixt *England* and the Earl of *Mar*. He was the Man who brought Mr. *Forster* his Commission, and the Manifesto's and Declarations of the *Pretender*. He was indefatigable in searching for Arms and Horses, a Trade, some were pleased to say, he had follow'd out of the Rebellion as well as in it. He was also very Vigorous in the Action at *Preston*; where he with his Men were possessed of several Houses, and did a great deal of Harm to His Majesty's Forces from the Windows. He also made his Escape when a Prisoner either at *Liverpool* or *Chester*.

The Fifth Troop was commanded by Captain *Nicholas Wogan*, an Irish Gentleman,

man, but descended from an ancient Family of that Name in *Wales* ; he joined the Rebels at their first Meeting. He is a Gentleman of a most generous Mind, and a great deal of Bravery, unwearied to forward the good of his Cause : His Bravery was made known by several Instances in the Action at *Preston*, his Generosity as well as Courage was most remarkable in bringing off Prisoner Captain *Preston* of *Preston's* Regiment of Foot, who was mortally wounded through the Body by a Bullet from the Rebels, and just at the point of being cut in pieces ; he hazarded his Life among his own Men, if possible to save that Gentleman, tho' an Enemy, and was wounded in doing it : He took also a great deal of Care of him after he had brought him off ; for which it is hoped he has obtain'd His Majesty's Pardon. Captain *Preston* himself having, before he died, openly acknowledged the Gallantry and Generosity of the Action, and made it his earnest Request that Mr. *Wogan* should be civilly used, for his kind Behaviour to him. Besides these Troops, there were a great many Gentlemen Volunteers that were not formed into any Troop. It is likewise to be observed, as is noted before, that these Troops were
all

all Double-Officer'd, to oblige the several Gentlemen that were among them.

Having thus given an Account of their Troops and Foot Regiments, which might then amount to 1400, I shall give a farther Account of their Marches, and what happened in the Way, till I bring them to the Place of Action. Having continued in *Kelso* so long as they did, which was from *Saturday* the 22d to *Thursday* the 27th of *October*, it gave General *Carpenter*, who, as is said, was sent down to pursue them, the Advantage of Time to advance by the easier Marches, and to observe their Motions: That General, with the Forces under his Command, viz. *Hotham's* Regiment of Foot, *Cobham's*, *Molesworth's*, and *Churchill's* Dragoons, had march'd from *Newcastle*, and lay now at *Wooller* the 27th, intending to face *Kelso* the next Day; of which Lord *Kenmure*, who, as I said, commanded the Troops while on the *Scots-side* of *Tweed*, having notice called a Council of War, wherein it was seriously considered what Course they should take. And here again my Lord *Wintoun*, as is observ'd already, press'd them earnestly to march away into the West of *Scotland*; but the *English* opposed, and prevailed against that wiser Opinion:

nion: Then it was proposed to pass the *Tweed* and attack the King's Troops, taking the Advantage of the Weakness and Weariness of General *Carpenter's* Men, who were indeed extremely fatigued, and were not above 1000 Men in Number, whereof two Regiments of Dragoons were new Raised, and had never seen any Service. This also was Soldier-like Advise, and which, if they had agreed to, in all Probability they might have worsted them, considering how they were fatigued, and not half the Number the Rebels were. But there was a Fate attended all their Councils, for they could never agree to any one thing that tended to their Advantage. This Design failing, they decamped from *Kelso*, and taking a little to the Right, marched to *Jedburgh*. Upon this March they were all alarmed, by mistaking a Party of their own Men for some of General *Carpenter's* Forces: The Particulars whereof was thus; a Party of their own Men appearing at a Distance, Captain *Nicholas Wogan* being desirous to know who they were, went off towards the River's side which parted them, and left one to stand at a convenient Distance from him, whilst he rid up to make a Discovery; if they proved Enemies, he was to fire a Pistol, if Friends, he was to

F

toss

tofs up his Hat. Just at the same time,
 some of these suspected Enemies wanting
 to know who he was, galloping towards
 him, he mistook them and fired a Pistol;
 so the Alarm was taken, but the Disorder
 was not great, the Matter being soon
 discovered. Then they continued their
 March to *Jedburgh*: The Horse having
 entred that Town, word was brought
 them again, That General *Carpenter* had
 fallen upon the Foot, who had not as
 yet reach'd the Town. This put them
 into the utmost Consternation: How-
 ever, not being discouraged so as to abandon
 their Fellows, they all mounted
 their Horses, and marched out to relieve
 their Friends. This Mistake also was
 occasioned by another Party of their own
 Men, who had taken a different Rout:
 And this being likewise discovered, they
 returned all to their Quarters, according
 to the *Scots Proverb*, *Worse frightened than*
hurt. They stay'd in this Town till *Sa-*
turday the 29th. And here it being ap-
 parent that an Opportunity offering to
 get the start of General *Carpenter*, who
 would be three Days March behind, and
 the *English* Gentlemen earnestly pressing,
 it was resolved, in an ill Hour for them,
 to cross the Mountains and march for
England: Accordingly Captain *Hunter*,
 who

who was well acquainted with the Country, was order'd with his Troop to go into *North-Tynedale*, and there provide Quarters for them who would follow. But here began a Mutiny, the Highlanders could not be perswaded to cross the Borders; and tho' many Persuasions were used with them, would not stir a foot: Hereupon the first Resolution was altered, and Orders were sent after Captain *Hunter* to countermand him. In this Town the Magistrates had Orders to furnish the Highlanders with a quantity of Oatmeal; which they did, by obliging every Housekeeper to pay a certain Quantity, according to his Ability. They were joined in this Town by Mr. *Ainsley* of *Cowhill*, with some others. From hence they marched to *Hawick*, a small, poor Market-Town belonging to the Dutchess of *Buckclugh*, at whose House the English Lords, with their Relations, and Mr. *Forster*, took up their Quarters. Upon this March to *Hawick*, the Highlanders, supposing still that the March for *England* was resolv'd on, were disgusted, separated themselves and went to the top of a rising Ground, there rested their Arms, and declared that they would fight if they would lead them on to the Enemy, but they would not go to *England*;

adhering to the Lord *Wintoun's* Advice, That they would go through the West of *Scotland*, join the Clans there, and either cross the *Forth* some Miles above *Sterling*, or send word to the Earl of *Mar* that they would fall upon the Duke of *Argyle's* Rear, whilst he fell on his Front, his Number being then very small. While this Humour lasted among them, they would allow none to come and speak with them but the Earl of *Wintoun*, who had tutor'd them in this Project; assuring them, that if they went for *England*, they would be all cut in pieces, or taken and sold for Slaves; one part of which has proved too true. This Breach held a great while; however, at last they were brought to this, tho' not 'till after two Hours Debate, that they would keep together as long as they stay'd in *Scotland*; but upon any Motion of going for *England*, they would return back: So they continued their March to *Hawick*, where they were fore straitned for Quarters. Here the Highlanders, for they always had the Guard, and did all the Duty after they join'd the the Horse, discovered from their advanc'd Guards a Party of Horse, who were Patrolling in their Front; took them for Enemies, and gave the Alarm at Midnight; so all run immediately to Arms: The

The Moon gave light, and the Night proved very clear ; so the whole Body formed themselves in very good Order to oppose any Attack that should be made. But in the end this proved another false Alarm ; so they all returned to their Quarters. I have heard that this Alarm was designed to try the Highlanders, and to see how they would behave, and whether they would stand chearfully to their Arms if an Enemy appear'd. Next Morning being *Sunday*, they made their March to *Langholme*, another small Market-Town belonging to the Dutchess of *Bucklugh* : From hence there was a strong Detachment of Horse sent in the Night for *Achilfichan*, with Orders to go and block up *Dumfries*, till they would come up and attack it. This Town of *Dumfries* is a very rich Place, and situate very commodiously upon the Mouth of a navigable River on the *Irish* Sea, and maintains a considerable Trade with *England* and the West of *Scotland* ; and had they been settled in their Resolution, they might very easily have made themselves Masters of that Town, there being no Regular Forces in it, but some Trainbands, Militia, and Townsmen, which would not have been able to hold out, nor any Fortifications to have assisted

them in the Defence of it. Here also they might have furnished themselves with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, which were much wanted, and open'd a Passage to *Glasgow*, one of the best Towns in *Scotland*, or for *England* also, if they thought fit. Here also they might have joined the Highland Clans from the West, besides a great many Country Gentlemen, who, on such an Appearance, would have come in to them; so that they might soon have formed a considerable Army: Also here they might have receiv'd Succours from *France* and from *Ireland*, no Men of War being in all those Seas at that time. In a word, nothing could be a greater Token of a compleat Infatuation, that Heaven confounded all their Devices, and that their Destruction was to be of their own working, than their omitting such an Opportunity of fixing themselves past the Possibility of being attack'd. They were also assured that in this City there were a great many Arms in the Tolbooth ready for all Occasions, in good Order, and a good Quantity of Gunpowder up in the Tron Steeple; all which would have been their own. That as to the Duke of *Argyle*, he was in no Condition to have hurt them; but, on the contrary, would scarce have thought

thought himself safe in *Sterling*, his Troops being not above 2000 Men; for he had not been then reinforced by the Forces from *Ireland*, nor the *Dutch* from *England*. But all these Arguments were in vain, the *English* Gentlemen were positive for an Attempt upon their own Country, pretending to have Letters from their Friends in *Lancashire* inviting them thither, and assuring them that there would be a general Insurrection upon their appearing; that 20000 Men would immediately join them; and promising them Mountains which they were to perform by Mole-hills. Whether they had receiv'd any such Expresses or no, is to this Day a Question; but they affirm'd it to their Army, and urged the Advantages of a speedy March into *England* with such Vehemence that they turn'd the Scale, and sent an Express after the Party of Horse they had ordered to *Achilfishan*, for them to return and meet them at *Langtoun* in *Cumberland*. So the Design of continuing in *Scotland* was quitted. But the Highlanders, whether dealt with underhand by the Earl of *Wintoun*, or whether being convinced of the Advantages they were going to throw away, and the Uncertainties they were bringing upon them, halted a second time, and

would march no farther. It is true, they did again prevail with their Leaders to march, making great Promises, and giving Money to the Men: But many of the Men were still positive, and that to such an Extremity, that they separated, and about 500 of them went off in a Body, chusing rather, as they said, to surrender themselves Prisoners, than to go forward to certain Destruction. All imaginable Means were used to have prevented this Desertion, but nothing could prevail on these Men to alter their Resolutions, neither fair Promises, nor any Arguments; so they went their ways in Parties over the tops of the Mountains; the Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewise with a good part of his Troop, being very much dissatisfy'd at the Measures, and declaring that they were taking the way to ruin themselves: However, in a little time he return'd and join'd the Body, tho' not at all satisfied with their Proceedings. They left the small Pieces of Cannon which they had brought from *Kelso* at *Langholm*, having nailed them up and made them unfit for Service; then they marched for that Night to *Longtoun*, which is within seven Miles of *Carlisle*, and was a very long and fatiguing March. Here they had Intelligence
that

that Brigadier *Stanwix*, with a Party of Horfe from *Carlisle*, had been there that Day to get Intelligence of their Numbers and Motions; but that upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his Garrison, which then confifted of but a very few Men. This Night the Party ordered to *Achilfchan*, returned and join'd us, fore fatigued with their long and difmal March. Next Day they entred *England*, and marched to *Brampton*, a fmall Market-Town, and the firft they came to on the *Engliſh* fide, belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*. Here nothing happened but proclaiming the *Pretender*, and taking up the Publick Money, viz. the Excife upon Malt and Ale. Here Mr. *Forſter* opened his Commiſſion to act as General in *England*, which had been brought him from the Earl of *Mar* by Mr. *Douglafs* aforenam'd: And from this Day the Highlanders had Sixpence a Head *per* Day payed them to keep them in good Order and under Command. Here alfo Mr. *Forſter* and Lord *Kenmure* had the following Letters ſent them from the Earl of *Mar*, dated at *Perth*, *October* 21. The Duplicates of theſe Letters were, it ſeems, intercepted, being thoſe which came by Land, and were made publick by the Government; but theſe being

being brought by Sea, and landed near *Blith*, came safe to their Hands.

My Lord,

“ **I** Long extremely to hear from you,
 “ you may be sure, since I have not
 “ had the least Accounts almost of your
 “ Motions since I sent the Detachment
 “ over. I hope all is pretty right again,
 “ but it was an unlucky Mistake in Brigadier *Metosh*, in marching from *Haddingtoun* to *Leith*. I cannot but say
 “ though, that it was odd your Lordship sent no Orders or Intelligence to
 “ him, when you had Reason to expect
 “ that Party’s coming over every Day.
 “ His Retreat he made from *Leith*, and
 “ now from *Seatoun*, with the help
 “ of the Movement I made from this,
 “ makes some Amends for that Mistake;
 “ and I hope that Party of Men with
 “ him will be of great Use to you and
 “ the Cause. I wish you may find a
 “ Way of sending the Inclosed to Mr.
 “ *Forrester*, which I leave open for your
 “ Lordship to read; and I have little
 “ further to say to you, than what you
 “ will find in it. I know so little of the
 “ Situation of your Affairs, that I must
 “ leave to your self what is fit for you
 “ to do, as will most conduce to the
 “ Service,

“ Service, and I know you will take
 “ good Advice.

“ My humble Service to all Friends
 “ with you, particularly Brigadier *Me-*
 “ *tosb*, Lord *Nairn*, Lord *Charles Mur-*
 “ *ray* and *Metosb*, who, I hope, are join-
 “ ed you long e’re now ; and indeed they
 “ all deserve Praise for their gallant Be-
 “ haviour. I must not forget *Kinackin*,
 “ who, I hear, spoke so resolutely to the
 “ Duke of *Argyle* from the Citadel ; and
 “ I hope *Inercall*, and all my Men with
 “ him, are well ; and their Country-
 “ men long to be at them, which I hope
 “ they and we all shall soon. I have
 “ sent another Copy of the Inclosed to
 “ Mr. *Forrester* by Sea, so it will be hard
 “ if none of them come to his Hands.

“ I know your Lordship will endea-
 “ your to let me hear from you as soon
 “ as possible, which I long impatiently
 “ for ; and I hope you will find a Way of
 “ sending it safe. In one of my former,
 “ either to your Lordship, or to some
 “ body to shew you, I told that a part
 “ of the Army would be about *Dum-*
 “ *bartoun* ; but now I beg you would
 “ not rely upon that, for, till I hear
 “ from General *Gordon*, I am uncertain
 “ if they hold that Way. I have sent
 “ your Lorship a Copy of my New Com-
 “ mission,

“ mission, which perhaps you have not
“ seen before. I have named the General
“ Officers, and your Lordship has the
“ Rank of Brigadier of the Horse.

“ I am told the Earl *Wintoun* has been
“ very useful to our Men we sent over.
“ I suppose he is now with your Lord-
“ ship, and I beg you may make my
“ Compliment to his Lordship, and I
“ hope the King will soon thank him
“ himself.

“ I will trouble your Lordship no fur-
“ ther now, but all Success attend you,
“ and may we soon have a merry Meet-
“ ing. I am, with all Respect,

My Lord,

*Your most obedient and
most humble Servant,*

M A R.

From the Camp at *Perth*,
October 21. 1715.

From the Camp at Perth, Oct. 21. 1715.

Sir,

“ I Wrote to you of the 17th from
“ *Auchterarder*, which I hope you
“ got.

“ got. I marched the same Night, the
 “ Horse to *Dumblaine*, within four Miles
 “ of *Sterling*, and the Foot some Miles
 “ short of that Place. Next Morning I
 “ had certain Intelligence of the Duke
 “ of *Argyle*’s returning from *Edinburgh*
 “ with most of the Troops he had carried
 “ there, and was on their March to-
 “ wards *Sterling*: I also had an Account
 “ of *Evan*’s Regiment landed in the West
 “ of *Scotland* from *Ireland*, and were on
 “ their Way to *Sterling*. I had come
 “ away from *Perth* before our Provisions
 “ were ready to go with us, and I found
 “ all the Country about *Sterling*, where
 “ we were to pass *Forth*, was entirely ex-
 “ hausted by the Enemy, so there was no-
 “ thing for us to subsist on there. I had
 “ no Account from General *Gordon*, as I
 “ expected, and the soonest I could ex-
 “ pect him at the Heads of *Forth*, was
 “ two Days after that, and I could not
 “ think of passing *Forth* till I was joined
 “ by him. Under these Difficulties, and
 “ having got one of the things I designed
 “ by my March, *the Duke of Argyle*’s
 “ withdrawing from our Friends in *Lothi-*
 “ *an*, I thought it fit to march back to
 “ *Auchterarder*, which was a better
 “ Quarter, tho’ not a good one neither.
 “ Next Morning I got Intelligence of
 “ the

“ the Duke of *Argyle*’s being come to
 “ *Sterling* the Night before, and that he
 “ had sent Express upon Express to *Evan*’s
 “ Dragoons to hasten up. I had a Let-
 “ ter also, that Morning, from General
 “ *Gordon*, telling me that some things
 “ had kept him up longer than he ex-
 “ pected ; that it would be that Day e’re
 “ he could be at *Inverary* ; and that he
 “ could not possibly join me this Week :
 “ Upon this I thought it better to return
 “ here, which is a good Quarter, and
 “ wait his coming up, and the Lord
 “ *Seaforth*’s, than continue at *Auchterar-*
 “ *der*, since it would not a bit retard
 “ my passing the *Forth* when I should be
 “ in a Condition to do it ; and in the
 “ mean Time I could be getting Provisi-
 “ ons ready to carry along with me in
 “ my March, which, as I have told, are
 “ absolutely necessary about the Heads of
 “ *Forth* : So I came Home last Night.

“ I very much regret my being oblig’d
 “ to this, for many Reasons, particularly
 “ because of its keeping me so much the
 “ longer from joining you ; but you easi-
 “ ly see it was not in my Power to
 “ help it. However, I hope my Stay
 “ here shall be very short, and you may
 “ depend upon its being no longer than
 “ it necessarily must. The Passage over
 “ the

“ the *Forth* is now so extremely difficult,
 “ that it's scarce possible to send any Let-
 “ ters that Way ; and within these two
 “ Days there were Two Boats coming
 “ over with Letters to me, that were so
 “ hard pursued, that they were obliged
 “ to throw the Letters into the Sea ;
 “ so that I know very little of our Friends
 “ on that side, and less of you, which is
 “ no small Loss to me. I heard to Day,
 “ by Word of Mouth, that the Detach-
 “ ment I sent over are marched and join-
 “ ed our Friends in the South of *Scot-*
 “ *land*, so I hope they may be yet use-
 “ ful, but I hope you know more of them
 “ than I do. I have now writ to Lord
 “ *Kenmure*, but it is ten to one if it
 “ comes to his Hands. I know not what
 “ he is doing, where he is, or what Way
 “ he intends to dispose of his People ;
 “ whether he is to march into *England*,
 “ or towards *Sterling*, to wait my passing
 “ *Forth* ; and in the Ignorance I am
 “ in of your Affairs besouth the River,
 “ I scarce know what to advise him. If
 “ you be in need of his Assistance in *Eng-*
 “ *land*, I doubt not but you have called
 “ him there ; but if not, certainly his
 “ being in the Rear of the Enemy, when
 “ I pass *Forth*, or now that the Duke of
 “ *Argyle* is reinforced, should he march
 “ towards

“ towards me before I am, it would be
 “ of great Service. I am forced in a great
 “ measure to leave it to himself, to do as
 “ he finds most expedient.

“ I am afraid the Duke of *Ormond* is
 “ not as yet come to *England*, else I should
 “ have had the Certainty of it, one way
 “ or other, before now. I cannot con-
 “ ceive what detains him nor the King
 “ from coming here. However I am
 “ sure it is none of their Fault; and I
 “ hope they will both surprize us agree-
 “ able very soon.

“ I believe I told you in my last, of
 “ the Lord *Strathmore* and 200 of the
 “ Detachment that were going over *Forth*,
 “ and drove into the Island of *May* by
 “ three Men of War, who being got safe
 “ ashore on this Side, are now joined us
 “ again. There were but Two of all
 “ the Boats taken; and I hear, some of
 “ the Men that were in them, who were
 “ made Prisoners in *Leith*, were reliev'd
 “ by our Men, when they came there,
 “ but that their Officers were sent to
 “ *Edinburgh-Castle*; so I want some Re-
 “ prizals for them, which I hope to
 “ have e're long.

“ Tho' *Metosh* Brigadier's Mistake in
 “ going to *Leith* was like to be unlucky
 “ to us and them, yet it has given the
 “ Duke

“ Duke of *Argyle* no little Trouble ; and
 “ our March obliging him to let them
 “ slip, has, I am apt to believe, vex’d
 “ him.

“ I beg you will find some Way to let
 “ me hear from you. Ever since my
 “ Detachments were in *Fyfe*, all the Men
 “ of War that cruised on the North
 “ Coast, betwixt *Peterhead* and the *Firth*,
 “ have been in the *Firth*, and, I believe,
 “ will continue there, to prevent my
 “ sending more over that Way : So all
 “ that Coast is clear, which I wish to
 “ God the King knew ; and you may
 “ easily send a Boat here any-where,
 “ with Letters from *England*. I hear
 “ there is one of the Régiments of Foot
 “ from *Ireland* come to *Sterling*.

“ When you write to me, if by Sea,
 “ pray send me some News-Papers, that
 “ I may know what the World is a do-
 “ ing, for we know little of it here these
 “ eight Days. Success attend you ; and
 “ I am, with all Truth and Esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

M A R.

Directed thus,
 To Mr. *Forrester* with the King’s Forces
 in *Northumberland*.

G

They

They halted one Night at *Brampton*, to refresh the Men after their hard Marches, having march'd above 100 Miles in five Days. The next Day they advanced towards *Penrith*: They expected to have met with some Friends here to join them; for it was reported that Mr. *Dacre* of *Abbeylanner-Coast*, a Papist, had promised to raise 40 Men; but he was taken with a fortunate Fever, which hindred him of his Design, and prevented him and his Family from Ruin. As they drew near *Penrith*, they had notice that the Sheriff, with the *Posse Comitatus*, were got together, with the Lord *Lonsdale*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, to the the Number of 14000 Men, who resolv'd to stand and oppose their penetrating farther into *England*. The first part of this was very true, viz. that the *Posse* was drawn together, nor was their Number much less. But they gave the Rebel Army no occasion to try whether they would stand or no; for as soon as a Party, who they sent but for Discovery, had seen some of our Men coming out of a Lane by the side of a Wood, and draw up upon a Common or Moor in Order, and then advance, and that they had carried an Account of this to their Main Body, they broke up their Camp in the utmost Confusion,

Confusion, shifting every one for themselves as well as they could, as is generally the Case of an arm'd, but undisciplin'd Multitude.

Altho' their coming together was very little to the Purpose, yet, as the Rebels were greatly animated by their sudden and disorderly seperating over the whole Country, the Horse, who were very near them, made some Booty among them, taking several Horses, and a great many Arms. The whole Body of the Rebels being now come up, made a Halt upon the Moor near the Town, and drew up in Order of Battle, that they might enter the Town in a good Figure. Here Mr. *Patten*, being acquainted with the Country, and having formerly been Curate of that Town, was order'd out with a Party of Horse to intercept the Bishop of *Carlisle*, of whom it seems they had some Intelligence : But Mr. *Forster*, upon other Information, sent an Express after him, and countermanded that Order, and directed him to march forwards quite through the Town of *Penrith* to *Emont-Bridge*, and there he had Orders to beset a House where he was told he should find his Brother-in-Law Mr. *Johnston* Collector of the Salt-Tax, whom he was ordered to make Prisoner, and to bring him

him with his Books, Papers, and what Money he had belonging to the Government to the Army: But Mr. *Johnston* gave them the slip, and had made his Escape before Mr. *Patten* came up with his Party. However, Mr. *Patten*, upon this little Expedition, took several of the *Posse Comitatus* above-named Prisoners, and committed them to the Guard, taking their Arms from them. Of all this Number of People, which, as is said, were got together upon the Moor by *Penrith*, there were none received any hurt, but one Man that was shot thro' the Arm; for Orders were given not to fire upon them unless they resisted, which they were wiser than to do. In this Town, which is the richest and most plentiful of any in that part of the County, they refreshed themselves very comfortably; tho' the Inhabitants cannot charge them with any Rudeness, Violence, or Plunder in the least. The Pretender was proclaimed, and the Excise and other publick Money was taken up, as had been the Usage all along. There was one *Ossington* that performed both these Offices whilst in *England*; and what Money he receiv'd he paid to Mr. *William Tunstall*, who was constituted their Pay-Master General. While they continued here, they

they began to look into the Country a little, as well for their Friends as to furnish themselves with Arms and Horfes; for of the latter they were in great Want: And first, there was a Party sent to *Lowther-Hall* the Seat of the Viscount *Lonsdale*, to see for his Lordship, if he could have been found, and to search for Arms, but they found neither. They stay'd all Night at the House, where, to do them Justice, they behav'd very civilly, tho' it was otherwise reported; particularly I have heard it was complain'd of, that the Rebels were rude in defacing some Statues, and spoiling the Gardens and Trees; but nothing is more false, for they were commanded by Colonel *Oxburgh* an old Soldier, and a Man whose generous Temper would not allow him to do any thing so base. Having stay'd at *Penrith* that Night, and, as is said, refresh'd themselves very well, the next Day they march'd for *Appleby*. It is to be observ'd that there were none of any Account had yet joined them in this March; for all the Papists on that side the Country were secured before-hand in the Castle of *Carlisle*, to their great good Fortune. Now instead of increasing, there Number decreased; for Mr. *Aynsly* who joined them at *Fedburgh*, not liking the Prospect of their

Affairs, nor their Management, deserted them and several with him. Here Mr. *Patten* was in great Danger of being taken by the Sheriff of the County ; and had he stay'd a Quarter of an Hour longer than he did, he had certainly fallen into their Hands ; for being merry with some Acquaintance who stopp'd him some time after his Rebel Friends were march'd, the Sheriff who had got notice of him, spar'd no Diligence to have taken him, but came a little too late. Being come to *Appleby* the 3d of *November*, they halted again, and stay'd there till the 5th. This is an ancient Corporation, and the Head Town of the County of *Westmorland* : The Assizes are held here. It was formerly a famous *Roman* Station. Here, during their stay, nothing material happened but as usual, proclaiming the *Pretender*, and taking up the Publick Money. Here taking Possession of the Church, Mr. *Patten* had Orders to read Prayers, if the Parson or Curate refused ; but they were not very backward as to the thing it self, tho' they thought it their safest way modestly to excuse themselves, testifying however their Satisfaction, in giving Orders for the Bells to ring, and having all things made ready for the Service ; nor did the Parson and his Curate scruple to

to grace the Assembly with their Presence, or to join in the Prayers for the *Pretender* ; which encouraged the Highlanders to believe the High-Church Party were entirely theirs, and would join in a little time. Whilst here, they made Mr. *Thomas Wyburgh*, a Captain of the Train-bands, a Prisoner, and carried him with some others, suspected as Spyes, to *Preston*, and there they continued as such till His Majesty's Forces set them at Liberty. On the 5th they set out for *Kendale*, a Town of very good Trade. Here they remain'd all Night, and next Morning, being *Sunday* the 6th, they set forward for *Kirbylonsdale* a small Market-Town in *Westmorland*. This Days March was short ; so they came early to their Quarters, and had time to proclaim the *Pretender*, and in the Afternoon to go to Church, where Mr. *Patten* read Prayers, the Parson of the Place absconding. There was one Mr. *Guin*, who went into the Churches in their Way, and scratched out his Majesty King GEORGE's Name, and placed the *Pretender's* so nicely, that it resembled Print very much, and the Alteration could scarce be perceived. In all the March to this Town, which is the last in *Westmorland*, there were none joined them but one Mr. *John Dalston*,

and another Gentleman from *Richmond*, tho' we had now march'd through two very populous Counties; but here Friends began to appear, for some *Lancashire* Papists with their Servants came and join'd them, and marched in the Lines with them. Next Day, being the 7th of *November*, they marched to *Lancaster*, a Town of very good Trade, very pleasantly seated, and which, had they thought fit to have held it, might easily have been made strong enough to have made a Stand for them; and having an old Castle for their Arms, Stores, and Provisions, and a Sea-Port to have received Succours, it might have been very useful to them; but our Infatuations were not yet over.

In the March from *Kendall* to *Lancaster*, the whole Army drew up upon a Hill, and lay some time upon their Arms, to rest the Men. During which time, Mr. *Charles Widdrington*, second Brother to the Lord *Widdrington*, came from *Lancashire*, whither he was sent some Days before the Rebels advanc'd, to acquaint the Gentlemen of that County with their marching that Way; he returned with the News of their Cheerfulness and Intention to join them with all their Interest, and that the Pretender was that Day proclaimed at *Manchester*, where the Town's-

Town's-People had got Arms to furnish a Troop of Fifty Men at their sole Charge, besides other Voluntiers. This roused the Spirits of the Highlanders, and animated them exceedingly; nor was it more than needed, for they had often complained before, that all the Pretences of Numbers to join, were come to little, and that they should soon be surrounded by numerous Forces. But on this News they pluck'd up their Hearts, gave three Huzza's, and then continued their March into *Lancaster*. Colonel *Chartres*, and another Officer who was then in the Town, would have blown up the Bridge which leads into the Town, to hinder us from entring; but the People of the Town shewed their Unwillingness, and especially because, as they said, it would no-wise hinder our Entrance into the Place, seeing the River at Low-Water was passable by Foot or Horse, and that we could easily find Boats to pass into the Town; so that as it would be a vast Charge to rebuild the Bridge so strong and fine as before, so it would be a Loss to no manner of End. Then these two Gentlemen finding a Quantity of Powder in some Merchants Hands, order'd it to be thrown into a Draw-Well in the Market-Place, lest it should fall in-

to

to our Hands. After all this, at last we entred the Town without Opposition in very good Order, and march'd to the Market-Place, where the whole Body was drawn up round the Cross, and there with sound of Trumpet proclaimed the *Pretender*: Then the Men were billeted and quartered in every part of the Town, which was very well able to entertain them all. The same Night a Party of Horse were sent to Colonel *Chartres's* House, which is a few Miles from *Lancaster*, belonging to a fine Estate which he has lately purchased there. They did no Harm to the House, nor to any thing about it, tho' it was reported, and that presently by himself, to ingratiate himself with the Government, that they committed several Disorders, to the Owner's great Loss. But he could never make out the Loss; nor was there any Truth in the Charge, for they behaved very civilly, only made free with a few Bottles of his Wine and strong Beer. On the other hand, if these Men had not been sent thither, but that the *Scots* had been allow'd to pay their Countryman's House a Visit, they would not have scrupled to have set it on fire, so well is he respected by them; and that not on account of his Affection or Disaffection to the one side
or

or other, but on Account of his own Personal Character, which is known not to have been very acceptable to those who are acquainted with him. They continued at *Lancaster* from *Monday* the 7th to *Wednesday* the 9th, during which time they seized some new Arms which were in the Custom-House, and some Claret, and a good quantity of Brandy, which was all given to the Highlanders to oblige them: They likewise took up all the Money belonging to the Revenue, which was either in the Excise-Office or Custom-House, also in the Harbour, and which belong'd to Mr. *Heysham* a Merchant of *London*, and Member of Parliament. They found six Pieces of Cannon, which they seized, and mounted upon new Carriages, and carried them with them to *Preston*, of which hereafter. During their stay at *Lancaster*, they had Prayers read in this Church by Mr. *Patten*, the Parson of the Place excusing himself. It seems he was not so averse to it any more than some of his Brethren; but he wanted to see how the Scales would turn, before he could think of venturing so far. From this Town Mr. *Buxton*, a Clergyman, was sent off with Letters to some Gentlemen in *Derbyshire*, where his Acquaintance lay

lay. It was a lucky Errand for him, for by that means he had the good fortune to escape being taken at *Preston*. He was a well-bred and good-humour'd Gentleman, but his Constitution could not bear the Hardships of such an Undertaking as this, especially of the long Marches in that Season of the Year; he went to his own Country and there fell ill of the Small-pox; but hearing that narrow Search was made for him, he was obliged to remove, even in that Condition, and has not been since heard of. As the old Saying goes, *Uno avulso non deficit alter*: So it was here, for that very Day Mr. *Buxton* went from *Lancaster*, the unhappy Mr. *Paul* came thither: He came boldly up to Mr. *Forster*, as he was at Dinner with Mr. *Patten* at the Recorder of *Lancaster's* House. He entred the Room in a blue Coat, with a long Wig and a Sword, and Mr. *John Cotton* of *Cambridgeshire* with him. They let him know who they were, and in a flourishing way made a tender of their Services for the Cause; which Mr. *Forster* accepting, they withdrew; then Mr. *Forster* told Mr. *Patten* that the taller of the two Gentlemen was a Clergyman, and was of *St. John's* College in *Cambridge*, and that he had given him a perfect Account of
General

General *Carpenter's* Marches, and that he was then at *Barnard's-Castle* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, that his Men and Horses were sore fatigued, and the like : All which was true enough, tho' their being so fatigued did not hinder their March after us. While we were in this Town our Number encreased considerably ; and had we stay'd here, or kept a Garrison here, they would have continued so to do. For in that time a great many *Lancashire* Gentlemen joined us, with their Servants and Friends. It's true, they were most of them Papists, which made the *Scots* Gentlemen and the *Highlanders* mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the Cause ; for they expected all the *High-Church* Party to have joined them. Indeed, that Party, who are never right Hearty for the Cause, 'till they are Mellow, as they call it, over a Bottle or two, began now to shew us their blind side ; and that it is their just Character, that they do not care for venturing their Carcasses any farther than the Tavern ; there indeed, with their *High-Church*, and *Ormond*, they would make Men believe, who do not know them, that they would encounter the greatest Opposition in the World ; but after having consulted their Pillows, and the Fume
a little

a little evaporated, it is to be observed of them, that they generally become mighty Tame, and are apt to Look before they Leap, and with the Snail, if you touch their Houses, they hide their Heads, shrink back, and pull in their Horns. I have heard Mr. *Forster* say he was blustered into this Business by such People as these, but that for the time to come he would never again believe a drunken Tory.

Having now received what addition of Force they could expect in that part of the Country : And having first discharged some Prisoners of their Friends who were in the Castle, particularly the famous *Tom Syddal*, a Mob Captain, who was in this Goal for the Riot at *Manchester*, when the Meeting-House was pull'd down, it was time now to advance and open the Way for their other Friends to come in ; for as they had News daily of Troops gathering to oppose them, it was time to extend themselves, that they might join all those who had promised their Assistance. To this End they moved from *Lancaster*, taking the Road to *Preston*, and designing to possess themselves of *Warrington-Bridge*, and of the Town of *Manchester*, where they had Assurances of great Numbers to join them ;

them; and by this means they made no doubt of securing the great and rich Town of *Liverpool*, which would be cut off from any Relief, if they were once possess'd of *Warrington-Bridge*. According to these Measures the Horse reach'd *Preston* that Night : The Day proving Rainy, and the Ways Deep, they left the Foot at a small Market-Town called *Garstang*, half-way betwixt *Lancaster* and *Preston*, with Orders to advance early next Morning to *Preston*, which they did accordingly. The Horse, as is said, entred *Preston* that Night, and found that two Troops of *Stanhope's* Dragoons, formerly quartered there, had removed upon their Approach. This encouraged them exceedingly, and made them imagine that the King's Forces would not look them in the Face. The Foot coming up the next Day, being *Thursday* the 10th of *November*, they marched straight to the Cross, and were there drawn up as usual, whilst the *Pretender* was proclaimed. Here they were also joined by a great many Gentlemen, with their Tenants, Servants, and Attendants, and some of very good Figure in the Country; but still all Papists. They once resolved to have marched out of *Preston*, and Order was given to get ready on the *Friday*; but that

that Order was countermanded, and they resolved to continue till the next Day, and then to advance. All this while they had not the least Intimation of the Forces that were preparing to oppose them, much less of the near Approach of the King's Army: And as it is a Question often asked, and which very few can answer, *viz.* How they came to be so utterly void of Intelligence at that time, as to be so ignorant of the March of the King's Forces, and to know nothing of them 'till they were within sight of *Preston*, and ready almost to fall upon them? It may be very proper to give a plain and direct Answer to it, which will in short be this, *viz.* That in all their Marches Mr. *Forster* spared neither Pains nor Cost to be acquainted with all General *Carpenter's* Motions, of which he had constant and particular Accounts every Day, and sometimes twice a Day; but the *Lancashire* Gentlemen gave him such Assurances that no Force could come near them by Forty Miles but they could inform him thereof, this made him perfectly easy on that side, relying entirely on the Intelligence he expected from them: And therefore, when on the *Saturday* Morning he had given Orders for his whole Army to march from *Preston* towards *Manchester*, it was extremely

tremely surprizing, and he could scarce credit the Reports that General *Wills* was advancing from *Wigan* to attack them: But he was soon satisfied of the Truth of it by Messengers on all hands. That Morning Mr. *Paul* the Clergyman went off with Letters, *as he then said*, to a noble Lord in *Staffordshire*, and some Friends in *Leicestershire*: He met General *Wills* and his Troops on the Road, who stopped him, and asked him some Questions; but not suspecting he was one of the Rebels, he himself also putting on a contrary Face, let him go: But I shall have occasion to say more of him. The Alarm being now given, a Body of the Rebels marched out of the Town as far as *Ribble-Bridge*, posting themselves there, and Mr. *Forster*, with a Party of Horse, went beyond it to get a certain Account of Things; when discovering the Vantguard of the Dragoons, he returned another Way, not coming back by the Bridge. He ordered Mr. *Patten* with all haste to ride back, and give an Account of the Approach of the King's Army, and to give Orders to prepare to receive them, whilst he went to view a Ford in the River, in order for a Passage to come behind them. The Foot that were advanced to the Bridge were about an 100;

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but they were choice, stout, and well-armed Men, and commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel *John Farquharson* of *Invercall*, belonging to *Macintosh's* Battalion: He was a good Officer and a very bold Man, and would have defended that important Pass of the Bridge to the last Drop, and till the rest had advanced and drawn themselves out of the Town; but he was order'd to retreat to *Preston*: This Retreat was another wrong step, and has been condemned on all hands as one of the greatest Oversights they could be guilty of; for the River is not fordable but a good Way above and below the Bridge, which they might have made impassable also, by several Methods practised on like Occasions. As for the Bridge, they might have barricado'd it so well, that it would have been impracticable to have pass'd there, or to have dislodged them from it; also they had Cannon, which General *Wills* wanted: And here alone indeed it might be said they were in Condition to have made an effectual stand; for here the King's Forces would have been entirely exposed to their Fire, having no Cover; whereas the Rebels could have very much secured themselves against the other's Fire, by the Bridge, and by the Rising-Ground near it. General
Wills

Wills did indeed expect some Difficulty and Opposition at this Place, believing, by their Situation, that the Rebels would have made their greatest Effort at that Place ; but understanding by his Advance-Guard that the Rebels had abandon'd that Post, he was surprized, and suspected that then they had some Stratagem in hand, and perhaps had lined the Hedges, and so made the Lane unpassable for his Men. The Lane is indeed very deep, and so narrow that in several Places two Men cannot ride a-breast. This is that famous Lane, at the end of which *Oliver Cromwell* met with a stout Resistance from the King's Forces, who from the Height rolled down upon him and his Men (when they had entred the Lane) huge large Mill-stones ; and if *Oliver* himself had not forced his Horse to jump into a Quick-Sand, he had luckily ended his Days there. General *Wills*, on these Suppositions, proceeded with Caution, and caused the Hedges and Fields to be view'd, and the Ways laid open for his Cavalry to enter ; but finding the Hedges also clear, he concluded then the Enemy was fled, and expected that they had abandon'd the Town and all, and would endeavour by their long Marches to return to *Scotland*, tho' he thought it impossible for them to do it : But

he was soon inform'd that they were retreated to the Town only, and that they resolv'd to receive him there with a resolute Countenance; so he had nothing to do but to prepare for the Attack, which he went about immediately. Having advanced nearer the Town, he ordered his Troops to pass at a Gate which leads into the Fields which lie on the back of the Town, and immediately spreading the Enclosures with the utmost Expedition and Diligence, so disposed of his Forces as best to be able both to attack them in the Town, and to prevent them from Sallying or making a Retreat.

During this time, the Rebels were not idle in the Town, nor did they appear in the least discouraged, but applied themselves resolutely to their Business, barricadoing the Streets, and posting their Men in the Streets, bye-Lanes, and Houses, to the greatest Advantage for all Events. The Gentlemen-Voluntiers were drawn up in the Church-yard, under the Command of the Earl of *Derwentwater*, Viscount *Kenmure*, Earls of *Wintoun* and *Nithsdale*. The Earl of *Derwentwater* signally behav'd, having stripp'd into his Waistcoat, and encouraged the Men, by giving them Money to cast up Trenches, and animating them to a vigorous Defence
of

of them : When he had so done, he order'd Mr. *Patten* to bring him constantly an Account from all the Attacks how Things went, and where Succours were wanted; which Mr. *Patten* did till his Horse was shot under him. The Rebels formed four main Barriers; one a little below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Macintosh*; the Gentlemen in the Church-yard were to support that Barrier in particular, and Lord *Charles Murray* that which was at the end of a Lane leading to the Fields: The third Barrier was called the Windmill; this was commanded by Colonel *Macintosh*: And the fourth was in the Street which leads towards *Liverpool*, commanded by Major *Miller* and Mr. *Douglass*. The three former were all attack'd with great Fury by His Majesty's Forces: The first Attack was made upon that Barrier below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Macintosh*; but they met with such a Reception, and so terrible a Fire was made upon them, as well from the Barricado as from the Houses on both sides, that they were obliged to retreat back to the Entrance of the Town. During the Heat of this Action, some of *Preston's* Officers being inform'd that the Street leading to *Wigan* was not barrica-do'd, and that the Houses were not pos-

felf'd on that fide, they prefently entred
 that Street with great Bravery, pushing
 all before them. *Preston's* Regiment of
 Foot were commanded upon this Service,
 fupported by *Honnywood's* Dragoons. It
 is true, the Rebels had at firft taken Po-
 ffeffion of that Street, and pofted Men in
 the Houfes on both fides; but were, a-
 gainft their Inclination, called off to other
 Service; nor were they left, as fome
 defir'd, to poft themfelves at the ex-
 tremeft Ends of the Town, even at that
 End which leads to the Bridge, where the
 firft and hotteft Attack was made. Seve-
 ral Houfes were left, particularly one
 which belonged to Sir *Henry Haughton*:
 Captain *Innis* with Fifty Highlanders had
 taken Poffeffion of this Houfe; and had
 he been allowed to have continued there,
 he would have given a good Account of
 it; but he being obliged to leave that
 Poft, fome of *Preston's* Men got Poffeffion
 of that too, tho' it coft them dear, for
 many of their Men were kill'd there from
 other Houfes. It is a high Houfe, over-
 looking the whole Town: There was
 alfo another Houfe oppofite to it, which
 they entred, and pofted feveral of their
 Men in it. And from thefe two Houfes
 came almoft all the Lofs the Rebels fu-
 ftained during the Action. *Mr. Forfter*
 cannot

cannot be blamed for this Oversight, but it must be charged upon the Brigadier, who, when the Regiment of *Preston's* Foot made this brave and bold Attack and Attempt, withdrew his Men from those Houses. The Attack was thus, *Preston's* Men, led by their Lieutenant-Colonel the Lord *Forrester*, did not come up the Head of the Street, but marched into a straight Passage behind the Houses, and then made a Halt till their Lieutenant-Colonel the Lord *Forrester* came into the open Street with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and faced *Macintosh's* Barrier, looking up the Street and down the Street, and viewed how they were posted. There were many Shots fired at him, but he returned to his Men, and came up again at the Head of them into the middle of the Street, where he caused some to face the Barricade where the Brigadier was posted, and ply them with their Shot, at the same time commanding another Party to march cross the Streets, to take Possession of those Houses. It was a very desperate Attempt, and shews him an Officer of an undaunted Courage. Whilst this was doing, the Rebels from the Barrier, and from the Houses on both sides, made a terrible Fire upon them, and a great many of that old and gallant Regi-

ment were killed and wounded : The Lord *Forrester* received several Wounds himself. Besides the Damage they received on that side, they were sore galled from some Windows below them, by Captain *Douglass* and Captain *Hunter's* Men. *Preston's* Foot fired smartly upon the Rebels, but did little Execution, the Men being generally cover'd from the Shot, and delivering their own Shot securely, and with good Aim ; yet some were kill'd, and some also wounded, particularly two very gallant Gentlemen were wounded here, and both dy'd of their Wounds ; the one was Captain *Peter Farquharson* of *Rochley*, a Gentleman of an invincible Spirit, and almost inimitable Bravery. This Gentleman being shot through the Bone of the Leg, endured a great deal of Torture in the Operation of the Surgeon : When he was first brought into the Inn called the *White Bull*, the House where all the wounded Men were carried to be dress'd, he took a Glas of Brandy, and said, *Come, Lads, here is our Master's Health ; tho' I can do no more, I wish you good Success.* His Leg was cut off by an unskilful Butcher, rather than a Surgeon, and he presently died. The other Gentleman was Mr. *Clifton*, Brother to Sir *Jervas Clifton* :
He

He was also a gallant and throughly accomplish'd Gentleman: He received a Shot in the Knee, of which he died some Hours after. There was another Gentleman called Colonel *Brereton*, who died also of his Wounds.

The next Barrier which was attack'd, was commanded by Lord *Charles Murray*: He behav'd very gallantly, but being very vigorously attack'd, wanted Men, and order'd Mr. *Patten* to acquaint the Earl of *Derwentwater* therewith, who immediately sent back Mr. *Patten* with Fifty Gentlemen-Voluntiers from the Church-yard to reinforce him, who came in very good Season. Immediately Mr. *Patten* was ordered over the Barrier to view the King's Forces, who appearing in a Clergyman's Habit, was not suspected, nor fired on: He soon returned back, and gave Lord *Charles* an Account, that by what he saw, they were resolved to attack him again; whereupon Lord *Charles* gave Orders to his Men to be ready to receive them; and accordingly they came on very furiously: And tho' the King's Forces that made this Attack, were, for the most part, raw, new-listed Men, and seemed unwilling to fight, yet the Bravery and good Conduct of experienced Officers, supply'd very much that Defect.

However,

However, Lord *Charles Murray* maintain'd the Post, and obliged them to retreat with Loss; nor, had they been all old Soldiers, could they have beaten Lord *Charles* from that Barrier, which was very strong; the Number they had slain from the Barn-holes and Barrier it self added very much; so that at last the Officers themselves thought fit to give it over. And however some, in their Dying Speeches afterwards, were pleased to lessen the Bravery of the King's Forces; this may be offer'd in Answer, That notwithstanding the Aspersions, we all know that he that publickly display'd it, could not be a Judge of the Fact; for no body ever saw him at any Post of Danger himself. On the contrary, the Author hereof, who was an Eye-witness to the three Attacks, can assure the World he saw that Gentleman who left that Aspersions in his Dying Speech, placed very securely out of all Danger in an Ale-house, where he was assured he remain'd during the whole Action.

Hitherto the Rebels seem'd to have had some Advantage, having repulsed the King's Forces in all their Attacks, and maintained all their Posts; and Night drawing on, no new Action happened, but during all this time, and all *Saturday*

day Night and *Sunday*, and good part of that Night the King's Forces kept incessant Platoons firing upon the Rebels from Sir *Henry Haughton's* and Mr. *Ayre's* Houses. Its true they killed but very few ; those of Note, were one Mr. *Hume* a Cornet, one Mr. *Scattery*, and a Highland Gentleman belonging to the Lord *Nairn*. There were several Houses and Barns set on Fire by both Parties, both for covering themselves among the Smoak, and dislodging Men ; so that if the Wind had blown almost from any Quarter, that Town had been burnt to the Ground, and the Rebels had been burnt to Ashes in it. I shall, as I design impartially, hint at all the Mistakes on both sides ; and this was one, the King's General had ordered Illuminations to be set in all the Windows of the Houses where they had Possession, which as long as they continued burning, exposed the Rebels that were crossing the Streets upon all occasions, to the plain View of those possessed of the Houses aforesaid, and gave them a good Aim at their Mark. This was the Occasion of the Death of some, and Wounds of others, even on both sides, so that after a little time Orders were given for some to go to all the Houses, and call aloud to the People to put

put out their Candles ; which being shouted aloud, as is said, in the Streets, for the People had shut all their Doors, they mistook the Command, and instead of putting out or extinguishing their Lights, set up more ; which amused both sides, but did no Harm on one side or other.

The third Attack was at the Windmill, in the Street which leads to *Lancaster*, where the Barrier was defended by near 300 Men, under the Command of Mr. *Macintosh*, who with his Men behaved very boldly, and made a dreadful Fire upon the King's Forces, killing many on the spot, and obliging them to make a Retreat ; which however they did very handsomely. This was owing to the common Men, who were but new-listed ; tho' the Officers and old Soldiers behav'd themselves with great Bravery. After this, the Rebels began to see their Error, by being imposed upon to give Credit to the many Falshoods told them, of which this was one, that they might be assur'd that the King's Forces would all come over to them ; yet not one Man offer'd to do so : Nay, Major *Preston* and Captain *Ogleby*, as well as several common Soldiers that were made Prisoners being wounded, assured us, that not one Man belonging to the King's Forces but would
die

die in their Country's Cause, and told us we could not be able to hold out, for that more Forces were also coming from all Quarters; they inform'd us of the Arrival of General *Carpenter* with three Regiments of Dragoons to surround us: They also described the Dispositions he had taken, and the Alterations he had made in the Posts to prevent our Escape.

And now our People began to open their Eyes, and to see that there was nothing but present Death before them if they held out longer, and that there was no Remedy, but, if possible, to make Terms, and get a Capitulation for Life and lay down their Arms: But of this, it is necessary that a gradual Account be given in the Order in which it happen'd, for it was not all done in a Moment.

General *Carpenter*, I say, was now arriv'd with *Churchill's* and *Molesworth's* Dragoons, and a great many Gentlemen of the Country with him, as the Earl of *Carlisle*, Lord *Lumley*, Colonel *Darcy*, and others.

The General having an Account from General *Wills* of what had pass'd, approved very well of what had been done, but found it necessary to make some small Alterations in the Dispositions of the Troops: He found three Attacks had
been

been made, tho' not with the desir'd Success, and yet that the Rebels would be forced to surrender at last, or be taken, Sword in Hand.

Here it is necessary to observe, as part of the Reason why the first Attack was not immediately successful, *viz.* because of the Barricadoes and Cannon which the Rebels were possessed of. But by the way, I must observe, that the Rebels, tho' they had six Pieces of Cannon, did not much use them, except at first only; in short, they knew not how, having no Engineers among them; and a Seaman who pretended Judgment, and upon his own Offer took the Management of the Cannon at the Brigadier's Barricado, acted so madly, whether it was that he had too little Judgment, or too much Ale, or perhaps both, that in levelling one of the Pieces to cut off *Preston's* Foot, who advanc'd to attack us, the Ball brought down the Top of a Chimney. It is true, the next he fired did Execution, and oblig'd the Regiment to Halt; tho' upon all Occasions they behav'd with a great deal of Bravery and Order. But this by the way. Lieutenant-General *Carpenter* was, as I have said, now arriv'd, and had view'd the Posts and the Situation of the Rebels, and finding most
part

part of the Horse and Dragoons of the King's Troops posted on one side of the Town, very incommodiouſly on many Accounts, being crouded in a deep narrow Lane near the end of the Town, and beſides that, ſo inconvenient for the Service, that it was impoſſible to draw up above three or four in the Front; he brought them off in Parties to ſeveral other Places: Alſo going to view the Ground towards the River, he found, to his great Surprize, that no Troops were poſted at the end of *Fiſbergate-Street*, to block up that part of the Town, and that for want of it ſeveral of the Rebels had eſcaped there, and more rid off that Way, even before his Face. This Street leads to a Maſh, or Meadow, which runs down to that part of the River *Ribble*, where there are two good Fords, being the High-way towards *Leverpool*. At the upper End of this Street there was another Barricade, with two Pieces of Cannon, as is ſaid already: But no Attack had been made on this ſide; nor indeed could it be ſo, the few Troops conſider'd. Here the Lieutenant-General ordered Colonel *Pitt* to poſt his two Squadrons of Horſe, and extend themſelves into that Maſh, in order to prevent any more eſcaping that Way; as it effectually

effectually did ; for some bold Fellows attempting to escape after this, were all cut to pieces by the Horse : Also the General caused a Communication to be opened thro' the Enclosures on that side, that his Post might be relieved, in case the whole Body should attempt to force their Retreat that Way, as it was given out they would, and as indeed they might have done ; but they had no such good Measures in their Heads.

The Rebels being thus invested on all sides, so that they found themselves entirely block'd up, and being now sensible, tho' too late, of their Condition, and also that they were short of Powder for an obstinate Resistance, began to consider what to do. The Highlanders were for sallying out upon the King's Forces, and dying, as they call'd it, like Men of Honour, with their Swords in their Hands ; but they were over-ruled, and were not allowed to stir : Nor was the Motion communicated to the whole Body ; but General *Forster*, prevail'd upon by Lord *Widdrington*, Colonel *Oxburgh*, and some few others, resolv'd upon a Capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining good Terms from the King's Officers. Colonel *Oxburgh* pretending Acquaintance with some of the Officers, made an
Offer

offer to go out and treat of a Surrender. As this was done without the Knowledge of the Rebel Army, the common Soldiers were told that General *Wills* had sent to offer honourable Terms to them, if they would lay down their Arms; so blinded were we with their Tory Lyes to the last : But certain it is, that Gentleman, had his Design been known, had never seen *Tyburn*, for he had been shot dead by the Consent of all the common Men, before he had gone out of the Barrier. However, so he did, and made such a Bargain for them as the Circumstances of Things might easily tell them they could expect no other ; but which, had not the Gentlemen thus abandon'd them, the Soldiers would not have yielded to. But be that as it will, he went with the Trumpet to the General, who allowed him to come and go freely, but told him, They might expect no other Terms, than to lay down their Arms, and surrender at Discretion. The Colonel, to give him his due, urg'd all the Arguments he could for better Terms ; but was told, That they must submit to the King's Mercy, there was no other Terms could be made with them. The General told Colonel *Oxburgh*, He knew that in the case of a Rebellion reduced, it was not rational

to expect, or usual to give other Terms. The Colonel coming back with this Answer, a second Message was sent out by Captain *Dalziel*, to desire some Time to consider of it. At about three in the Afternoon Colonel *Cotton*, with a Dragoon, and a Drum beating a Chamade before them, came up the Street from the King's General : The Colonel alighted at the Sign of the *Mitre*, where the chief of the Rebel Commanders were got together, and told them he came to receive their positive Answer. It was told him, There were Disputes betwixt the *English* and the *Scots*, that would obstruct the yielding, which others were willing to submit to ; but that if the General would grant them a Cessation of Arms till the next Morning at Seven, they should be able to settle the Matter, and that the Gentlemen promised they would then submit. Colonel *Cotton* sent the Drum to beat a Chamade before the Doors of some Houses where the King's Men continued firing, to cause them to cease, on account of the Cessation which was agreed to, and to order them to withhold till they had notice from the General ; but the poor Fellow was shot dead upon his Horse as he was beating his Drum. It is said this was not done by
the

the King's Men; for they must needs know him to be one of their own Drums by his Livery and Mounting, but that it was done by some of the Rebels who were averse to all thoughts of Surrender.

And here, because the Rebels and their Friends have given it out since, that they had such Terms granted them at this short Treaty, which would secure their Lives, and that the Terms of Surrender ought so to be understood; I shall give you a true and faithful Account of the Capitulation it self, with its Circumstances, as it was given upon Oath by General *Wills* himself at the Lord's Bar, at the Earl of *Wintoun's* Tryal. The General there declared,

“ That having the Honour to com-
 “ mand His Majesty's Troops that at-
 “ tack'd the Rebels at *Preston*, he came
 “ before that Town the 12th of *No-*
 “ *vember* last, about one a Clock, and
 “ order'd two Attacks upon the Town;
 “ the Attack which led to *Wigan* being
 “ commanded by Brigadier *Honywood*,
 “ who beat the Rebels from their first Bar-
 “ ricade, and took Possession of some of
 “ the Houses in the Town; the other
 “ Attack which led to *Lancaster*, under
 “ the Command of Brigadier *Dormer*,
 “ who

“ who lodged his Troops nigh the Bar-
 “ ricade of the Rebels. The next Day
 “ about two a Clock, Mr. *Forster* sent
 “ out one Mr. *Oxburgh* an *Irishman*, of-
 “ ferring to lay down their Arms and
 “ submit themselves, and hoped this De-
 “ ponent would recommend them to the
 “ King’s Mercy. Which this Deponent
 “ refused, and told him, he would not
 “ treat with Rebels, for that they had
 “ killed several of the King’s Subjects,
 “ and they must expect to undergo the
 “ same Fate. That upon this, *Oxburgh*
 “ said, That as this Deponent was a Man
 “ of Honour, and an Officer, he would
 “ shew Mercy to People that were wil-
 “ ling to submit. Upon this, the Depo-
 “ nent said, All he would do for them
 “ was, that if they laid down their
 “ Arms, and submitted Prisoners at Dis-
 “ cretion, he would prevent the Soldiers
 “ from cutting them to Pieces, till he
 “ had farther Orders, and that he would
 “ give them but an Hour to consider of
 “ it. That he sent *Oxburgh* back into
 “ the Town to acquaint *Forster* of it,
 “ and before the Hour was expired, they
 “ sent out Mr. *Dalziel*, Brother to the
 “ Earl of *Carnwath*, who wanted Terms
 “ for the *Scots*. That this Deponent’s An-
 “ swer was, That he would not treat with
 “ Rebels,

“ Rebels, nor give them any other
 “ Terms than what he had before offered
 “ them. Upon which it was desired that
 “ this Deponent would grant farther Time
 “ till Seven a Clock next Day, to con-
 “ sult the best Method of delivering
 “ themselves up. That this Deponent
 “ agreed to grant them the Time desired,
 “ provided they threw up no new In-
 “ trenchments in the Streets, nor suffer-
 “ ed any of their People to escape, and
 “ that they sent out the Chief of the *Eng-
 “ lish* and *Scotch* as Hostages for the Per-
 “ formance ; and this Deponent sent in
 “ Colonel *Cotton* to bring them out, who
 “ brought out the Earl *Derwentwater*
 “ and Mr. *Macintosh*. That the next
 “ Day about Seven a Clock, Mr. *Forster*
 “ sent out to let this Deponent know
 “ that they were willing to give them-
 “ selves up Prisoners at Discretion, as
 “ he had demanded. That Mr. *Mac-
 “ intosh* being by when the Message was
 “ brought, said, He could not answer
 “ that the *Scotch* would surrender in that
 “ manner, for that the *Scots* were Peo-
 “ ple of desperate Fortunes, and that he
 “ had been a Soldier himself, and knew
 “ what it was to be a Prisoner at Discre-
 “ tion. That upon this, the Deponent
 “ said, Go back to your People again,
 “ and

“ and I will attack the Town, and the
 “ Consequence will be, I will not spare
 “ one Man of you. That *Macintosh* went
 “ back, but came running out immedi-
 “ ately again, and said, That the Lord
 “ *Kenmure* and the rest of the Noblemen,
 “ with his Brother, would surrender in
 “ like manner with the *English*.

“ General *Wills* farther deposed, That
 “ when the Attack was made by the
 “ King’s Forces, between Sixty or Se-
 “ venty Men were killed ; and that there
 “ were killed and wounded about 130.
 “ And being asked by the Attorney Ge-
 “ neral, Whether he gave the Rebels any
 “ Encouragement to hope for Mercy ? he
 “ again declared, that all the Terms he
 “ gave them, was, That he would save
 “ their Lives from the Soldiers till far-
 “ ther Orders, if they surrendered at
 “ Discretion : The meaning of which
 “ was, that by the Rules of War, it was
 “ in his Power to cut them all to pieces,
 “ but he would give them their Lives
 “ till farther Order ; and if they did not
 “ comply, he would renew the Attack,
 “ and not spare a Man.” This Deposi-
 tion was confirmed by Colonel *Churchill*,
 Colonel *Cotton*, and Brigadier *Munden*.
 Besides this, I can assure the World, that
 I heard the Answer which Colonel *Cot-*
ton,

ton, whilst he was at the *White Bull*, gave to a Gentleman among the Rebels, who asked if they might have Mercy ; he told him, *Sir, that I cannot assure you of, but I know the King to be a very merciful Prince* ; and that then he demanded of all the Noblemen and Gentlemen to give their Parole of Honours to perform what they on their part promised.

Having thus set this Matter in a fair Light, I shall now give a farther Account of what happened in the Town : The common Men were one and all against Capitulating, and were terribly enrag'd when they were told of it, declaring that they would die fighting ; and that when they could defend their Posts no longer, they would force their Way out, and make a Retreat. It is true, that this might have been attempted, and perhaps many would have escaped ; but it could not have been performed without the Loss of a great deal of Blood, and that on both sides ; and it was told them that it would be so, and that if they did get out, they would be cut off by the Country People ; but their Madness was such, that nothing could quiet them for a great while : And it was astonishing to see the Confusion the Town was in, threatening one another, nay, killing one another, but for naming a Surrender ; one was

shot dead, and several wounded. In this Dilemma, many exclaimed against Mr. *Forster*, and had he appear'd in the Street, he would certainly have been cut to Pieces; but as he did not appear publicly, yet he had been actually kill'd in his Chamber by Mr. *Murray*, had not I with my Hand struck up the Pistol with which he fired at him, so that the Bullet went thro' the Wainscot into the Wall of the Room. And since I mention Mr. *Forster*, I cannot but justify him against the many Aspersions he lies under in this part of the Action, I mean, *as a Coward*. It must be owned he was no Soldier; nor was the Command given to him as such, but as he was the only Protestant who could give credit to their Undertaking, being of Note in *Northumberland*, of an ancient Family, and having for several Years been Member of Parliament for that County, and therefore very Popular: For if the Command had been given to either of the two Lords, their Characters, as Papists, would have discouraged many of the People, and been improved against the Design in general. As to Matters of Conduct, Mr. *Forster*, tho' he was called General, yet always submitted to the Council of Colonel *Oxburgh*, who was formerly a Soldier, and had obtained
a great

a great Reputation; tho' it is manifest in our Case, that he either wanted Conduct or Courage, or perhaps both. He was better at his Beads and Prayers, than at his Business as a Soldier, and we all thought him fitter for a Priest than a Field-Officer. It must be owned he was very devout in his Religion, and that is all the Good we can say of him; and that Devotion he has since had great Occasion for in another Place. Besides, the Influence of Colonel *Oxburgh*, my Lord *Widdrington* had too great Prevalency over Mr. *Forster's* easy Temper; and this Lord we thought understood so little of the Matter, that he was as unfit for a General as the other; for tho' the Family of *Widdrington* be famed in History for their Bravery and Loyalty to the *English* Crown; yet there is little of it left in this Lord, or at least he did not shew it, that ever we could find, unless it consisted in his early Persuasions to surrender; for he was never seen at any Barrier, or in any Action but where there was the least Hazard. He was wonderfully esteemed at Home by all the Gentlemen of the County, and it had been happy for him, and so we thought it had been better for us (the Rebels) had he stay'd at Home. But to return to Mr. *Forster*, he
shewed

shewed several times forwardness enough
 for Action, and particularly that he was
 very far from a Coward, by his riding up
 to *Macintosh's* Barrier twice, in the very
 face of the King's Troops; and when he
 was exposed to the Shot of those possessed
 of the Houses on both sides of the
 Street, where I heard him command the
 Brigadier to advance without the Barricado,
 and make a Sally; which he positively
 refused. What Reason he gave I know
 not, Mr. *Forster*, however, warmly told
 him, He would have him Tried by a
 Court-Martial, if he out-liv'd the Service
 of the Day, and if ever his King came.
 This occasion'd the Grudge which still
 continued betwixt them, even in *New-*
gate. The Brigadier has got the Cha-
 racter of Brave and Bold: He has given
 signal Instances thereof beyond Seas; but
 we all must say, we saw very little of it
 at *Preston*. Another Scandal upon Mr.
Forster, is, That he betray'd them to the
 King's Troops: And this I must needs
 observe to be a very evident Slander, and
 was set on foot here by a Party, who did
 not do it so much to injure Mr. *Forster*,
 as with another and baser Design, viz.
 that by having this credited, they might
 blast the Reputation of the commanding
 Officers of His Majesty's Troops, and of
 the

the Troops themselves; also suggesting that if the Rebels had not been sold, the King's Forces could not have reduced them; and also, that if they had not been sure of *Forster*, they would have given better Terms to them when they did submit. The contrary appears by the Usage Mr. *Forster* had receiv'd afterwards when a Prisoner, which tho' it may be said it was good enough for a Rebel, yet will make it evident that he was no way favoured, as shall appear farther hereafter. The same People who contrived the first Story, have added at last, when he made his Escape, that it was by Concert from the Government; as if the King would agree to such a mean Piece of Policy, as rather to wink at his Escape, than to give him a Pardon; a thing which could not lie hid long without being discovered, because several must be concerned, nay, common Servants, Turn-keys, &c. must have their Share in such a Design. After all, if the Truth was known, or when the Truth shall be known, it may perhaps appear that it was contrived and procured by the Tory Party, among whom there were many, doubtless, who were afraid he would squeak, and make some concern'd in Contributions, and underhand Assistancess in the Rebellion,

lion, be brought to Justice. I conclude his Case, with saying, that after several Affronts which he receiv'd, and the Calumnies he lies under for submitting, yet we soon found they all came into his Measures, and tamely submitted at Discretion. Thus they were all made Prisoners next Morning at Seven, being the 14th of *November*, and being Disarmed, were all at once put into the Power of the King's Troops. And here it may not be improper to observe what a fatal Day the 13th of *November* proved to the Pretender and his Friends; for as *Preston* was taken, and the Rebels in *England* surrender'd to the King's Troops in *Lancashire*, so the Battle of *Dumblain*, as it was called here, or of *Sheriff-Moor*, as in *Scotland*, was fought and lost in *Scotland* by the Earl of *Mar*; and to add to the Remark, in the North of *Scotland* the Town of *Inverness* was retaken, by the good Conduct of the Lord *Lovat*, and the House of *Grant*, and their Assistants: So that this Day seem'd to determin the Fate of the Pretender. But I return to the Account of the Surrender at *Preston*. Before the appointed Hour came, several of the King's Forces entred that part of the Town which the Rebels held, and began to plunder, looking upon what they got
their

their own, by Rule of War. But Complaint being made, they were stopped for some time. At last the two Generals entred the Town in Form, at the Head of the Troops; one Party under General *Wills*, entred at that End which leads to *Lancaster*; Brigadier *Honnywood* at the Head of the remaining part of the Troops, entred at that End which leads to *Manchester*. They came in with sound of Trumpets and beat of Drums, both Parties meeting at the Market-Place. Here the Highlanders stood drawn up, with their Arms; the Lords, Gentlemen, and Officers were first secured, and placed under a Guard in several Rooms in the Inns, where they remain'd some time. The Highlanders laid down their Arms in the Place where they stood drawn up, and then were put into the Church under a sufficient Guard. When all was safe, by the Rebels being thus disarmed and secured, General *Carpenter* seeing there would not be room enough in the Town for near the Number of Horse which were there, and considering the three Regiments that came with him had been extremely harrass'd by above a Month's continual long Marches, he, to preserve the Regiments, sent them the same Day to *Wigan*, there to rest a Day or two, and

and then move on by gentle Marches to their several Quarters, leaving the care of the Prisoners to General *Wills*, who, tho' he was not the Commander in Chief, yet as he had been the first Manager of the Work, the General would not take from him any part of the Honour of the Victory, or lessen him upon any Account. It is true, it was the Misfortune of these two brave Generals to differ a little about some Punctillo's in this Case some time after, and that some would have it to be upon the account of lessening one another in the Affair of *Preston*; yet I have been informed that Dispute was rather upon some other account, a former Misunderstanding having been between them when beyond Sea. But to let that fall, as not to our present Purpose, General *Carpenter*, as I have said, went off the 15th with the Earl of *Carlisle*, Lord *Lumley*, Colonel *Darcy*, and the rest of the Gentlemen, who having been now with him ten Days, had been very serviceable in procuring constant Intelligence of the Rebels, by the great Interest they have in that Country. The Slain on both sides were in the next Place buried, and then General *Wills* prepared to march also: Those that were killed or wounded belonging to the King's Forces, were as follow;

follow ; viz. the Wounded, Brigadier *Honnywood* received a Contusion on the Shoulder by a Musket-shot. Major *Bland* receiv'd a slight Wound in the Arm : His Horse was shot thro' the Neck : He is a brave and generous Officer, which all the Prisoners that were under his Command must gratefully acknowledge. Lord *Forrester*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Preston's* Regiment, had two or three Wounds : An Officer worthy the Command of good Soldiers. Major *Preston* was shot thro' the Body a little above the Breast, and taken Prisoner by Mr. *Wogan* : He was a Man of great Gallantry and compos'd Courage, as was visible by his exposing himself in the Danger and in the Manner he did, for he was spent in a long languishing Consumption, even to a Skeleton, and told us (the Rebels) That the Wound he received had only shortned his Days two or three Months ; which, seeing it was in the Service of his King and Country, he said he far preferr'd it to the lingring Death he expected. He died in our Hands. Captain *Ogleby* receiv'd a Wound in his Side ; the Bullet was lodged a good way in his Body, wrapt in part of his Scarf : He is a fine Gentleman, of a good Family in *Scotland*, and Son to the Lord *Ogleby*.
He

He recovered of his Wound. Major *Lawson* was likewise wounded ; and Brigadier *Dormer* had a Contusion in his Knee. There were other three Captains wounded, two Lieutenants, one Cornet, and four Ensigns. Killed, three Captains and one Ensign. There were a great many private Men of His Majesty's Forces killed ; how many it is hard to determine, but the Number has been esteem'd above 200, tho' the publick Lifts say not so many.

Of the Rebels, there were 17 killed and 25 wounded, and no more, for they were every-where under Cover. I shall take notice of one that was killed, tho' a Person of no Note, yet he is not to be forgotten, seeing the Bravery of mean Persons ought not to be buried : He was a Lame Man, and had the care of the Gunpowder, which he carried under him on a Horse from one Post to another. He was told that they wanted Powder at *Macintosh's* Barrier ; but if he went, they told him he would certainly be shot. He answer'd, I know I cannot avoid that, if I go ; but since they want, if I cannot carry it quite up to them, I'll carry it as far as I can ; and so set forwards, and both he and his Horse were shot dead.

There

There were taken at *Preston* seven Lords, besides 1490 others, including the several Gentlemen, Officers, and private Men, and two Clergymen. There was a Popish Priest called *Littleton* among them, but having a great deal of the Jesuite, he contriv'd a most excellent Disguise; for he put on a blue Apron, went behind an Apothecary's Counter, and passed for an Assistant or Journeyman to the Apothecary, and so took an Opportunity of getting off: He took care of his own Tabernacle, but left his Wafer Gods to be ridicul'd by the Soldiers.

The Names of the Lords, Prisoners, are well known, viz.

James Radcliffe Earl of *Derwentwater*,
Beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, February 24.
1715-16.

William Widdrington Lord *Widdrington*.

William Maxwell Earl of *Nithsdale*,
made his Escape out of the *Tower*, February 23. 1715-16.

[These Three were Papists.]

K

George

George Seaton Earl of *Wintoun*, made his Escape also out of the *Tower*, Aug. 4. 1716.

William Gordon Viscount *Kenmure*, beheaded with Lord *Derwentwater*.

William Nairn Lord *Nairn*.

I shall here add a List of the rest in general, of those who were taken that were of any Note ; which I should not do, it being so often published, but that I shall do it in a different manner, adding a short Account of so many as came within my Knowledge, as to their Circumstances, the Posts they bore, and what Kingdom, County, and Religion they were of, and the Fate that follow'd them.

Mr. Thomas Forster jun. of *Etherston* in the County of *Northumberland*, Protestant, Member of Parliament for the said County, was made General : Escaped out of *Newgate*.

Mr. Edward Howard Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Try'd and Acquitted, Papist.

Mr. Charles

Mr. Charles Radcliffe Brother to the Earl of *Derwentwater*, Try'd and found Guilty, and afterwards escaped out of *Newgate*, Papist.

Charles Widdrington Esq; Brother to the Lord *Widdrington* of *Northumberland*, Papist, pleaded Guilty.

Per. Widdrington Esq; third Brother to this Lord, and *Aid de Camp* to General *Forster*, Papist.

Walter Tankard Brother to Sir — *Tankard* of *Yorkshire*, Papist, pleaded Guilty.

John Thornton of *Netherwitton* in *Northumberland*; has a good Estate there, pleaded Guilty, Papist.

John Clavering a Papist of *Northumberland*.

John Clavering Brother to *William Clavering*, both Papists in *Northumberland*.

Nicholas Wogan, Captain, an *Irishman*, who for his generous Usage to Major *Preston* whom he made a Prisoner, is in a

fair way of being pardon'd, being now removed from *Newgate* into the Custody of a Messenger: He stood his Tryal, and was brought in Guilty of High-Treason; he is a Papist.

Charles Wogan an *Irishman*, behav'd very well at *Preston*; *Mr. Forster* called him his *Aid de Camp*: He made his Escape out of *Newgate*. He was a Papist.

John Talbot of *Cartington* in *Northumberland*, a brave young Gentleman; his Father made himself famous for his Courage at the Siege of *Buda*, but was killed: This Gentleman made his Escape from *Chester*.

Robert Talbot an *Irishman* and Papist, formerly an Officer in the *French Service*; he was accounted a very good Soldier: He was found Guilty of High-Treason.

Roger Salkeld of *Cumberland*, a Papist, second Son to *Sir Richard Salkeld* of *Whitehall* in the said County: He made his Escape from *Chester*.

George Collingwood of *Northumberland*, a Papist, of a valuable Estate: He was ordered

ordered for *London*, but was seiz'd with the Gout at *Wigan*, and from thence was carried to *Liverpool*, and there found Guilty, and afterwards executed there the 25th of *February*. He was a very pious Gentleman, and well beloved in his Country.

John Hunter, a Farmer at *Callylee* in *Northumberland*, reputed very Rich; he made his Escape.

Edward Ord.

William Tunstall Pay-Master General and Quarter-Master General, a *Yorkshire* Man, born to a plentiful Fortune; which failing, his good and agreeable Conversation and Learning, for he made several Copies of Verses after he was a Prisoner, which gain'd Applause from good Judges of Poetry: They shew the Man, tho' old, and under Sentence of Death, not to Despond; and it is hoped he will receive His Majesty's Pardon. He is a Papist.

William Shaftoe of *Bavington*, formerly a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Northumberland*; has a plentiful Estate: There he was brought into the Rebellion

from the Instigation of his Lady, and and Mr. *John Shaftoe* that was shot at *Preston*. He was once a Papist, but returned to the Church of *England*. He is a Gentleman of an easy Temper, and so too easily prevail'd with to join in the Rebellion. I shall add a Story of him when in *Newgate* with Mr. *John Hall* afterwards executed, which has something diverting in it. He says seriously to Mr. *Hall*, *Cousin Jack*, *I am thinking upon what is told us, That God will visit the Sins of the Fathers unto the Third and Fourth Generation: I am of Opinion that it is so with us; for your Grand-father and my Grand-father got most of their Estates as Sequestrators, and now we must lose them again for being Rebels.*

John Shaftoe his Son, a Papist.

Edward Shaftoe an old Gray-headed Gentleman, Father to *John Shaftoe* shot at *Preston* as an Half-pay Officer. This old Man became an Evidence for the King at *Liverpool* and *London*.

John Shaftoe Captain, shot as mentioned before: He was made early acquainted with the Rebellion, and would have saved his Life by Impeaching others, but was

too far from the Court to have his Mind known : This would have been of good Service. He died very Penitent.

Edward Swinbourn and *James Swinbourn*, both of them Papists, and Brothers to *Sir William of Capheaton* ; both found Guilty.

George Gibson of *Stonecroft, Northumberland*, a Papist : A Gentleman well-beloved in his Country.

Edward Byars of *Northumberland*, belonged to *Lord Widdrington's Troop*, made his Escape on the Road to *London*.

Richard Stokoe, formerly in the *Scots Gray Regiment of Dragoons*, was made a Quarter-master in the *Earl of Derwentwater's Troop*. He lived in *Northumberland* ; a Protestant.

William Charleton Son to *Mr. Charleton* of the *Bower* in *Northumberland*, lately pardoned by *Queen Anne* for murdering *Mr. Widdrington*. His Brother, *Edward Charleton*, is Doctor of Physick, and lately turned Papist, having married one of that Church.

Richard Chorley of *Chorley* in *Lancashire*, a Papist : A Gentleman of singular Piety and Parts, was ordered for *London* ; but falling sick at *Wigan* was left behind, and was Try'd at *Liverpool*, found Guilty, and was executed at *Preston*, February 9. 1715.

Charles Chorley Son to *Richard Chorley*, was a young Gentleman of very good Parts, was try'd at *Liverpool*, found Guilty ; but died in Goal.

Ralph Standish of *Standish*, a Papist in *Lancashire*, a Gentleman of a very good Repute ; having a plentiful Fortune married into the Duke of *Norfolk's* Family : He was found Guilty of High-Treason at *Westminster*.

Sir Francis Anderton of *Lofstock*, a Papist of *Lancashire* : He has an Estate of 2000 *l. per Annum*. He was indicted as a Baronet, but he pleaded that false, because his elder Brother, a Popish Priest beyond Sea, was alive. He was afterwards found Guilty, and received Sentence.

Richard

Richard Townley of *Townley*, a Papist in *Lancashire*; he married *Lord Widdrington's* Sister. This Gentleman's Servants were found Guilty of High-Treason, for being in the Rebellion with their Master, and some of them afterwards executed in *Lancashire*; but he was acquitted by the Jury at the *Marshalsea*.

John Dalton a Papist of *Lancashire*, of a good Estate, was try'd at the *Marshalsea* and found Guilty.

John Leybourn a Papist, *Lancashire*.

Gabriel Hesketh Father, and *Cuthbert Hesketh* Son, both Papists, *Lancashire*.

Thomas Walton of *Winder*, *Lancashire*, Papist.

Edward Tildesly of the *Lodge*, a Papist, *Lancashire*, was acquitted by the Jury at the *Marshalsea*, tho it was proved he had a Troop, and entred *Preston* at the Head of it with his Sword drawn. But his Sword had a Silver Handle.

Thomas

Thomas Errington of Beaufront, a Papist, Northumberland.

Philip Hudson of Sandow, a Papist, Northumberland, by Marriage Uncle to Lord Widdrington.

James Talbot an Irish Papist, made his Escape from Newgate; but a Reward of 500 Pounds being set forth, he was retaken in London.

Alexander Deafines.

Lyonel Walden of Westminster, an Oxford Student.

John Masterfon.

George Sanderfon of Highlee, a Papist, Northumberland.

George Budden an Upholsterer of London, made his Escape from Newgate, Protestant.

Robert Cotton a Gentleman of very good Fortune: He is a Nonjuror.

John

John Cotton his Son, both Protestants.

Richard Gascoine an Irish Papist, executed at Tyburn.

John Hunter of Northumberland, executed at *Liverpool*, a Protestant: He was shot thro' the Leg at *Preston*.

William Hardwick.

Richard Butler of *Raclife*, *Lancashire*, a Papist, found Guilty.

Robert Patten one of the Chaplains, Minister of *Allandale*, *Northumberland*: he saved his Life by being an Evidence for the King.

William Caston.

Thomas Lisle of *Northumberland*, Protestant.

Thomas Forster a Relation of Mr. *Forster's*: He was try'd and found Guilty at *Liverpool*.

William

*William Raine of Newcastle upon Tyne,
a Quarter-master.*

■ *Thomas Riddle Son to Mr. Riddle of
Swinbourn-Castle, Northumberland, a Pa-
pist.*

Henry Widdrington Quarter-master.

Richard Ord.

*William Sanderson of Highlee, Nor-
thumberland, a Papist, made his Escape
from Chester.*

John Towle an Irish Papist.

Edward Mackay.

*Henry Oxburgh an Irish Papist, and
called Colonel, executed at Tyburn.*

William Dobson.

*John Beaumont a Papist and Lieute-
nant.*

*John Crofts of Wooler, Northumberland,
Adjutant.*

Their

Their Followers, or Servants.

Robert Bruse,
Val. Ursington,
Edward Tinklar,
John Atkinson,
John Militson,
John Patrick,
J. Bywater,
Jonnage Aron,
Henry Masson,
William Smell,
John Holt,
Andrew Thompson,
James Shaw,
John Burtham,
Nicholas Doyle,
Thomas Holling,
Edward Bullock,
John Omfield,
Thomas Moore,
John Rowland,
Nicholas Wilson,
Corn. Stewart,
Luke Blacket,
Thomas Dixon,
Oliver Hamilton,
William Ansley,
Robert Stubs,
Henry Rewley,

John

John Todd,
 William Stewart,
 Roger Balson,
 John Wilson,
 Thomas Smith,
 John Thornton,
 James Robson,
 William Hardy,
 James Mills,
 John Brady,
 Robert Brown,
 James Wilkinson,
 John Clarke,
 Mich. Mosses,
 Will. Farnworth,
 John Farnworth,
 William Wilson,
 William Tash,
 Henry Gardiner,
 John Steele,
 Ra. Todd,
 Henry Todd,
 John Todd,
 Char. May,
 Henry Ashley,
 William Ratcliff.
 Willam Wilson,
 John Thornton
 William Young,
 Henry Wilson,
 Cuthbert Hasket,

Leonard

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Leonard Ord,
William Scot,
Thomas Fareburn,
James Richmond,
James Asington,
Albert Hackjel,
John Taskar,
Tim. Flanagan,
Char. Bartes,
Ro. Finkle,
James Wilson,
William Todd,
William Read,
R. Wilson.



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION
IN
SCOTLAND.



THE Earl of *Mar*, upon the Death of Queen *Anne*, whose Secretary of State he was, as it is believ'd, had no Rebellious Designs then in his Head; nor, could he have had his Selfish Views answer'd, would he perhaps ever have embark'd as he did. As may seem by a Letter he sent to His Majesty
L King

King GEORGE, with a tender of his Duty, and expressing himself in the most passionate Terms, as a Person full of Loyalty and Affection to His Person and Government, ready to serve his Interest, and defend His Succession; the Copy of of which it is very necessary to put in the Front of what offers concerning him, and is as follows :

S^r I R,

“ **H**AVING the Happiness to be your
 “ Majesty’s Subject, and also the
 “ Honour of being one of your Servants,
 “ as one of your Secretaries of State, I
 “ beg leave to kiss your Majesty’s Hand,
 “ and congratulate your happy Accession
 “ to the Throne; which I would have
 “ done my self the Honour of doing
 “ sooner, had I not hop’d to have had
 “ the Honour of doing it personally
 “ e’re now.

“ I am afraid I may have had the Mis-
 “ fortune of being misrepresented to your
 “ Majesty; and my Reason for thinking
 “ so, is, because I was, I believe, the
 “ only one of the late Queen’s Servants,
 “ who your Ministers here did not visit;
 “ which I mentioned to Mr. *Harley*, and
 “ the Earl of *Clarendon*, when they went
 “ from hence to wait on your Majesty;
 “ and

“ and your Ministers carrying so to me,
 “ was the Occasion of my receiving such
 “ Orders as depriv’d me of the Honour
 “ and Satisfaction of waiting on them,
 “ and being known to them.

“ I suppose I had been misrepresented
 “ to them by some here, upon Account
 “ of Party, or to ingratiate themselves by
 “ aspersing others, as our Parties here
 “ too often occasion; but I hope your
 “ Majesty will be so Just as not to give
 “ Credit to such Misrepresentations.

“ The Part I acted in the bringing
 “ about and making of the Union, when
 “ the Succession to the Crown was settled
 “ for *Scotland* on your Majesty’s Family,
 “ where I had the Honour to serve as Se-
 “ cretary of State for that Kingdom,
 “ doth, I hope, put my Sincerity and
 “ Faithfulness to your Majesty out of
 “ Dispute.

“ My Family hath had the Honour,
 “ for a great Tract of Years, to be faith-
 “ ful Servants to the Crown, and have
 “ had the Care of the Kings Children
 “ (when Kings of *Scotland*) intrusted to
 “ them. A Predecessor of mine was ho-
 “ nour’d with the Care of your Majesty’s
 “ Grandmother when young; and she
 “ was pleas’d afterwards to express some
 “ Concern for our Family in Letters

“ which I still have under her own
“ Hand.

“ I have had the Honour to serve her
“ late Majesty in one Capacity or other
“ ever since her Accession to the Crown.
“ I was happy in a good Mistress, and
“ she was pleased to have some Confidence
“ in me, and Regard for my Services:
“ And since your Majesty’s happy Ac-
“ cession to the Crown, I hope you will
“ find that I have not been wanting in
“ my Duty in being instrumental in keep-
“ ing Things quiet and peaceable in the
“ Country to which I belong, and have
“ some Interest in.

“ Your Majesty shall ever find me as
“ faithful and dutiful a Subject and Ser-
“ vant as ever any of my Family have
“ been to the Crown, or as I have been
“ to my late Mistress the Queen. And
“ I beg your Majesty may be so good not
“ to believe any Misrepresentations of
“ me, which nothing but Party Hatred,
“ and my Zeal for the Interest of the
“ Crown, doth occasion; and I hope I
“ may presume to lay Claim to your
“ your Royal Favour and Protection.

“ As your Accession to the Crown
“ hath been Quiet and Peaceable, may
“ your Majesty’s Reign be Long and Pro-
“ sperous: And that your People may
“ soon

“ soon have the Happiness and Satisfac-
“ tion of your Presence among them, is
“ the earnest and fervent Wishes of him,
“ who is with the humblest Duty and
“ Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most faithful,

most dutiful, and most obedient

Subject and Servant,

M A R.

Now altho', besides this, he had, upon some Reasons best known to himself, prevail'd with himself, perhaps against Principle, to take the Oaths to His present Majesty, he took another Liberty afterwards more wicked and equally harden'd (*viz.*) to forget and cast off the Obligation of those Oaths, and resolve upon Rebellion against that very Prince he had sworn to. In order to this, he concerted Measures with the Jacobites and Papists to form a Rebellion, and by Force of Arms to make way for the *Pretender*, as well to bring him in, as to establish him upon the Imperial Throne of these King-

doms : In which Concert, he, for his part, took upon him to draw the Chief of the Clans in the Highlands of *Scotland* to Arms, and with them to enter into open Rebellion. Accordingly, about the Month of *August*, 1715. he set out for *Scotland*, where he made, for a Pretence, a great Hunting. This proclaiming a Hunting, is a Custom among the Lords and Chiefs of Families in the Highlands, and on which Occasions they invite their Neighbouring Gentlemen and Vassals to a general Rendezvous, to hunt or chase the Deer upon the Mountains, of which they have there great Plenty. The Usage on these Occasions, is, that all the People round the Country, being well arm'd, assemble upon the Day appointed ; and after the Diversion is over, the Persons of Note are invited to an Entertainment ; which the Earl of *Mar* observed, and having got his Friends together, he made his Intention known to them in a publick Speech full of Invectives against the Protestant Succession in general, and against King *GEORGE* in particular. It is true, that at first he gained little or no Credit among them, they suspecting some piece of Policy in him to ensnare them : But some were weak enough to suck in the Poison, and particularly some of those
who

who were with him at his House, called *Brae-Mar*. These listening to him, embrac'd his Project, and, as is reported, engaged by Oath to stand by him, and one another, and to bring over their Friends and Dependants to do the like.

The Highlanders in *Scotland* are, of all Men in the World, the soonest wrought upon to follow their Leaders or Chiefs into the Field, having a wonderful Veneration for their Lords and Chieftains, as they are called there : Nor do these People ever consider the Validity of the engaging Cause, but blindly follow their Chiefs into what Mischief they please, and that with the greatest Precipitation imaginable.

The Earl of *Mar*, to gloss his Actions, with a seeming Reflexion as of Sorrow for what was past, told them, That tho' he had been very Instrumental in forwarding the Union of the Two Kingdoms in the late Reign of Queen *Anne*, yet now his Eyes were open, and he could see his Error, and would therefore do what lay in his Power to make them again a Free People, and that they should enjoy their ancient Liberties, which were by that *curst Union*, as he call'd it, delivered up into the Hands of the *English*, whose Power to enslave them farther was too great, and

their Designs to do it daily visible, by the the Measures that were taken, especially by the Prince of *Hanover*, who, ever since he had ascended the Throne, regarded not the Welfare of his People, nor their Religion, but solely left it to a Set of Men, who, while they push'd on his particular Interest to secure his Government, made such Alterations in Church and State as they thought fit ; and that they had already begun to encroach upon the Liberties of both ; which, he assured them, had already given Occasion to some to consult their own Safety, and who were actually resolved vigorously to defend their Liberties and Properties against the said new Courtiers, and their Innovations, and to establish the Person called the *Chevalier St. George*, who, he said, had the only undoubted Right of the Crown upon the Throne of these Realms ; which Person, he told them, had promised to hear their Grievances, and would redress their Wrongs. Farther he added, That Thousands were in League and Covenant with him, and with one another, to Rise and Depose King GEORGE, and establish the said Chevalier ; and that the Duke of *Ormond* and the Lord *Bolingbroke* were gone over to *France* to engage the Regent of *France* to be aiding and assisting with
Men

Men and Money, and that they would not fail, with a good Force, to land, together with the Duke of *Berwick* to command them, in the West of *England*.

This, and much more he said to them with a popular insinuating Air, which presently took with the Unthinking People in the Highlands, who being also persuaded by some of their Leading Men, easily gave Credit to what he said; when having before obtained the *Pretender's* Commission to act as Lieutenant-General, immediately took upon him to exercise the Authority of a Military Officer; and accordingly upon the 9th of *September*, 1715. set up the *Pretender's* Standard at a Town called *Kirk-Michael*, and there proclaimed him King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, &c. Having continued here four or five Days, he, with this small Beginning, for he had not then above 60 Men with him, marched to *Moulin*, thence to *Logaret*, encreasing daily, and being then near 1000 Men; thence he marched to *Dunkeld*, and was by that time encreased to 2000. With these he set forwards to *Perth*, having ordered that Town to be seized, as it was by Mr. *John Hay*, Brother to the Earl of *Kinnoul*. This was done on the 16th of *September*, with a Party of about

200 Horse : The Earl of *Rothes* being at the same time marching with a Body of 500 Men of King GEORGE's Friends to have done the same. He stay'd at this Town some time, expecting the Clans to join him, and sent out Parties to several Quarters, to bring in what Ammunition and Arms they could find, and of which they really brought in a great many : Several Pieces of Cannon were also brought hither to him from *Dunotter-Castle*, and from *Dundee* : He likewise having Intelligence of a Ship's loading of Arms which lay at *Brunt-Island*, bound for the North to the Earl of *Sutherland*, he detached a Party of 800 Men, who went and seized the Vessel, and found therein 306 compleat Stand of Arms, design'd, as before is said, for the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was just then gone to his own Country to raise his Tenants and Vassals for the King's Service, and, if possible, to hinder the Northern Clans from joining the Earl of *Mar*.

By this time however the Clans began to stir : And first of all, the Laird of *Macintosh*, Chief of the Name of *Macintosh*, and who are a considerable and numerous Clan, by the Persuasion of his Kinsman the Brigadier of that Name, commanded his Vassals to attend him to the

the *Pretender's* Standard, then at *Perth*. And here it is observable, that tho' these Men were always noted to be on the other side, and were always for the *Revolution*; yet without examining the Cause, several of them obey'd his Orders, and blindly engaged. The Brigadier placed himself at their Head, formed them into a Regiment, and regulated them very well, being no less than 500 stout Men. Thus they marched with their Chief to *Perth*, were they found the Earl of *Mar* with his Forces.

They were no sooner advanced to that Town, but he singled them out, and the Brigadier at the Head of them, for that desperate Attempt of passing the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, and landing in *Lothian*, (of which I have spoken at large.) Accordingly they march'd to the Sea-Coast of *Fife*, and there, with other five Regiments, viz. *Mar's* own, Lord *Strathmore's*, Lord *Nairn's*, Lord *Charles Murray's*, and Lord *Drummond's*; making in all 2500 Men. Having seized all the Boats they could find upon that Coast, they all embark'd. His Majesty's Ships then in the *Firth* made up to them, as well as the Circumstances would permit, but could not hinder 1500 from crossing, and getting fairly ashore; tho' they fired
hard

hard upon them; (of all which a full Account is already given in the *English* Part of the Story.)

I therefore go back to the Earl of *Mar's* Proceeding: The Account of the taking the Ship with Arms, gave some Reputation to his Conduct. The Manner was thus; the Arms that were taken, were ordered from *Edinburgh-Castle* for the Earl of *Sutherland*, and were shipped off at *Leith*; but the Master of the Ship calling at *Brunt-Island* to see his Wife and Family, the Earl of *Mar* having notice, detach'd from *Perth*, *October 2d*, in the Evening, 400 Horse, with as many Foot behind them, who arrived at *Brunt-Island* about Midnight; and having press'd all the Boats in the River, boarded the Vessel, and seiz'd the Arms. They also found about 100 Arms in the Town, and 20 or 30 in another Ship; all which they took and carried off, and so return'd to *Perth* undisturbed: For the Duke of *Argyle* had no notice of them till it was too late; on the contrary, the Duke had notice that the Earl of *Mar* designed to be at *Alloway*, his own House, four Miles from *Sterling*, with a strong Detachment. Upon which Advice, he order'd out the Picquets of Horse and Foot, and had all the Troops ready to march to sustain them,

them, if there had been occasion; but none of the Rebels appearing, the Picquets returned to the Camp. For indeed this was a false Allarm, design'd by the Earl of *Mar* on purpose to amuse the Duke. The Success the Rebels found at *Brunt-Island*, mightily encouraged them and their Friends: Also in every Place after, they not forgetting to range about the Towns and Coast of *Fife* in quest of Arms, and in part made themselves Amends for their being disappointed in those they expected from *France*; which, by the Care of Sir *George Bing*, were about this time discovered, and by the earnest Application of the Earl of *Stair*, were stopt at *Havre-de-Grace*.

The same Day that the Earl of *Mar* went from *Dunkeld* to *Perth*, Mr. *James Murray*, second Son to the Viscount of *Stormount*, arrived *incognito* at *Edinburgh* from *France*, by way of *England*, and crossing the *Firth* at *Newhaven* above *Leith*, got undiscovered into *Fife*, and so to *Perth*. His Arrival gave another Occasion of great Rejoycings among the Rebels; for he brought large Promises from the *Pretender*, and from the Court of *St. Germain*s, and took to himself the Character of Secretary of State to the *Pretender*. About this time also, a strong
Party

Party of the *Mac-Donald's*, *Mac-Clean's*, and *Cameron's* in Rebellion, attempted to surprize the Garrison of *Inverlochy*, and succeeded so far as to take two Redoubts at some Distance, in one of which were an Officer and twenty Men, and in another a Sergeant with five : But the main Garrison being upon their Guard, the Rebels marched off to *Argyleshire*.

Before I proceed any farther in this Part, the Order of Things calls me back to give an Account of a Design to surprize the Castle of *Edinburgh*. It was on the 9th of *September* that the Attempt was made ; the *Lord Drummond* was the Person chiefly concern'd, but it was communicated to several others, and there were no less than Ninety choice Men pick'd out for the Enterprize, all Gentlemen. They had corrupted one *Ainesly* a Sergeant, who was afterwards hang'd for it ; a Corporal, and two Centinels within the Castle : These were to be ready to assist at a certain Place upon the Wall near the Sally-Port ; where, having contrived a Scaling-Ladder made of Ropes, and with Pulleys, which being fastened to the top of the Wall by the Conspirators, the Centinel was to draw up with a small Rope provided on Purpose. This Engine was so contrived, that

that it could draw up several Men abreast : All the Joints or Lengths of this Ladder not coming at once, it proved too short in Length for any to get over the Wall. Whilst this was doing, the Officers of the Garrison got Intelligence of the Design, and having got their Men together silently, they discovered the Ladder, unloosed it at the Top of the Wall, and let it fall, and immediately ordered the Centinel to discharge his Piece. Upon this, the Rounds also fired upon the Gentlemen at the Foot of the Ladder, who immediately dispersed themselves, four only of their Number being taken. This Project's failing, is attributed to the Gentleman's Neglect in not bringing all the Lengths of the Ladder at once, and the Centinel's fixing of it at a Place some Distance from that first resolved on : For Lieutenant *Lindsey* going the Rounds, as above, found that the Ladder was actually drawn up, and fixed on the top of the Wall ; upon which, he ordered the next Centinel to fire, (as above.) The Conspirators finding the Plot was discovered, fled, as is said ; but a Party of the Town-Guard, which, at the Request of the Lord Justice *Clerk* the Provost had sent out to Patroul with some resolute Voluntiers, coming up,
found

found one *Mac-Lean*, formerly an Officer, sprawling on the Ground, and bruised with a Fall from the Wall; whom they secured, with Mr. *Lefly*, Mr. *Ramsay*, and Mr. *Bowwell*; the last two, Writers; the first, formerly Page to the Dutchess of *Gordon*. They likewise found the Ladder, and one Dozen of Fire-Locks and Carbines. Each Person concerned was to have 100*l.* sterling, and a Commission in the Army. The Number of Soldiers engaged in this Conspiracy, were, a Sergeant who was to have a Lieutenant's Place; the Corporal an Ensign's; and one of the Soldiers had eight Guinea's, and the other four. The Lord *Drummond* was to be Governor of the Castle, as being Contriver of the Design. If this Design had succeeded, the Conspirators were to fire three Rounds in the Castle, which was to be a Signal for their Friends.

But to return to the Earl of *Mar*, who having possessed *Perth*, and being greatly encouraged by some Proceedings, he ordered the *Pretender* to be proclaimed there; which was done by Colonel *Balfour*, and at several other Places, as at *Aberdeen*; by the Earl of *Marshall* at *Dundee*; by one created Viscount of *Dundee* by the *Pretender*, at *Montrose*; by the Earl

Earl of Southesk, at Forreſs; by Mr. Cumming, at Alter.

By this time the Earl of Mar alſo had taken upon him the Title of Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's Forces, and ordered the following Declaration to be published; and alſo a Letter to the Bailly of Kildrummy, as follows.

The Earl of M A R's Declaration.

‘ OUR Rightful and Natural King
 ‘ James the Eighth, by the Grace
 ‘ of God, who is now coming to relieve
 ‘ us from our Oppreſſions, having been
 ‘ pleaſed to intruſt us with the Direction
 ‘ of his Affairs, and the Command of
 ‘ his Forces in this his ancient Kingdom of
 ‘ Scotland: And ſome of his faithful
 ‘ Subjects and Servants met at Aboyne,
 ‘ viz. the Lord Huntley, the Lord Tullibardine, the Earl Marifchal, the Earl
 ‘ of Southesk, Glingary from the Clans,
 ‘ Glenderule from the Earl of Broadalbine,
 ‘ and Gentlemen of Angleſhire, Mr. Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouſe, the Laird
 ‘ of Auldbair, Lieutenant-General George
 ‘ Hamilton, Major-General Gordon, and
 ‘ my ſelf, having taken into Conſideration his Maſteſty's laſt and late Orders to
 ‘ us, find, that as this is now the Time
 ‘ that he ordered us to appear openly in
 M Arms

‘ Arms for him, so it seems to us abso-
 ‘ lutely necessary for his Majesty’s Ser-
 ‘ vice, and the relieving our Native
 ‘ Country from all its Hardships, that
 ‘ all his faithful and loving Subjects, and
 ‘ Lovers of their Country, should with
 ‘ all possible Speed put themselves into
 ‘ Arms.

‘ These are therefore, in his Majesty’s
 ‘ Name and Authority, and by Virtue
 ‘ of the Power aforesaid; and by the
 ‘ King’s special Order to me thereunto,
 ‘ to require and impower you forthwith
 ‘ to raise your Fencible Men, with their
 ‘ best Arms, and you are immediately to
 ‘ march them to join me and some other
 ‘ of the King’s Forces at the *Invor* of
 ‘ *Brae-mar*, on *Monday* next, in order
 ‘ to proceed on our March to attend the
 ‘ King’s Standard, with his other Forces.

‘ The King intending that his Forces
 ‘ shall be paid from the Time of their
 ‘ setting out, he expects, as he positive-
 ‘ ly orders, that they behave themselves
 ‘ civilly, and commit no Plundering nor
 ‘ other Disorders, upon the highest Pe-
 ‘ nalties and his Displeasure, which is
 ‘ expected you’ll see observed.

‘ Now is the Time for all good Men
 ‘ to shew their Zeal for his Majesty’s
 ‘ Service, whose Cause is so deeply con-
 ‘ cerned,

‘ cerned, and the Relief of our native
‘ Country from Oppression and a foreign
‘ Yoke, too heavy for us and our Poste-
‘ rity to bear; and to endeavour the re-
‘ storing not only our rightful and native
‘ King, but also our Country to its anci-
‘ ent, free, and independeal Constitution,
‘ under him, whose Ancestors have reign-
‘ ed over us for so many Generations.

‘ In so honourable, good, and just a
‘ Cause, we cannot doubt of the Assist-
‘ ance, Direction, and Blessing of Al-
‘ mighty God, who has so often rescued
‘ the Royal Family of *Stuart*, and our
‘ Country from sinking under Oppres-
‘ sion.

‘ Your punctual Observance of these
‘ Orders is expected: For the doing of all
‘ which, this shall be to you, and all
‘ you employ in the Execution of them,
‘ a sufficient Warrant.

To the Bailly and
the rest of the
Gentlemen of
the Lordship of
Kildrumny.

*Given at Bræ-Mar, the
9th of Sept. 1715.*

M A R.

M 2

The

*The Earl of M A R's LETTER to his
Baily of Kildrummy.*

Invercauld, Sept. 9. at Night, 1715.

Jocke,

‘ **Y**E was in the right not to come
‘ with the 100 Men ye sent up
‘ to Night, when I expected four times
‘ the Number. It is a pretty thing,
‘ when all the *Highlands* of *Scotland* are
‘ now rising upon their King and Coun-
‘ try’s Account, as I have Accounts
‘ from them since they were with me,
‘ and the Gentlemen of our neighbouring
‘ *Lowlands* expecting us down to join
‘ them, that my Men should be only re-
‘ fractory. Is not this the Thing we are
‘ now about, which they have been wish-
‘ ing these twenty-six Years? And now,
‘ when it is come, and the King and
‘ Country’s Cause at Stake, will they for
‘ ever sit still, and see all perish?

‘ I have us’d gentle Means too long,
‘ and so I shall be forced to put other
‘ Orders I have in Execution: I have
‘ sent you enclosed an Order for the
‘ Lordship of *Kildrummy*, which you are
‘ immediately to intimate to all my Vas-
‘ sals; if they give ready Obedience, it
‘ will

' will make some Amends; and if not, ye
 ' may tell them from me, that it will
 ' not be in my Power to save them (were
 ' I willing) from being treated as Ene-
 ' mies, by those who are ready soon to
 ' join me; and they may depend on it,
 ' that I will be the first to propose and
 ' order their being so. Particularly, let
 ' my own Tenants in *Kildrummy* know,
 ' that if they come not forth with their
 ' best Arms, that I will send a Party
 ' immediately to burn what they shall
 ' miss taking from them: And they may
 ' believe this not only a Threat, but,
 ' by all that's sacred, I'll put it in Exe-
 ' cution, let my Loss be what it will,
 ' that it may be Example to others. You
 ' are to tell the Gentlemen that I'll ex-
 ' pect them in their best Accoutrements,
 ' on Horseback, and no Excuse to be ac-
 ' cepted of. Go about this with all Di-
 ' ligence, and come yourself, and let me
 ' know your having done so. All this
 ' is not only as you will be answerable
 ' to me, but to your King and Country.

Your assured Friend

Sic Subscribitur.
 To John Forbes of
 Incherat, Bailly
 of *Kildrummy*.

and Servant,

M A R.

M 3

Upon

Upon the News of the Earl of *Mar's* being thus in Arms, and of the Progress he made, Orders were dispatched immediately to *Edinburgh*, to secure such suspected Persons as were thought to be capable of Mischief, whose Names are as follow :

The Marquis of *Huntley*.
 The Earl of *Seaforth*.
 The Earl of *Wintoun*.
 The Earl of *Carnwath*.
 The Earl of *Southesk*.
 The Earl of *Nithsdale*.
 The Earl of *Linlithgow*.
 The Earl of *Mar*.
 The Earl of *Hume*.
 The Earl of *Wigtoun*.
 The Earl of *Kinnoul*.
 The Earl of *Panmure*.
 The Earl of *Marischal*.
 The Earl of *Broadalbin*.
 The Lord Viscount of *Kenmure*.
 The Lord Viscount of *Stormount*.
 The Lord Viscount of *Kilsyth*.
 The Lord Viscount of *Kingston*.
 The Lord Viscount of *Strathallerton*.
 The Lord *Ogilvie*.
 The Lord *Rollo*.
 The Lord *Drummond*.

The

The Lord Nairn.

The Lord Glenorghay.

Sir James Campbel of Aushirebrech.

Sir Duncan Campbell of Locknell.

Sir Donald Mac-Donald.

Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre.

Sir Hugh Paterfon of Bannockburn.

Sir Alex. Ereskine, Lord Lyon.

Sir John Maclean.

Lieut. General George Hamilton.

Master of Stormount.

Master of Nairn.

Master Alexander Mackenzie of Fra-
zerdale.

James Sterling of Keir.

Robert Stuart of Appin.

John Campbell of Aétrahalder.

William Murray Younger of Auchter-
tyre.

Alex. Robinson of Strowan.

Laird of Mackinnan.

William Drummond Servant to Lord
Drummond.

Mr. Seaton of Touch.

Lieutenant Allen Cameron.

Rob. Roy alias Mac-Gregor.

Mr. Stewart of Ard.

Master Francis Stewart Brother to the
Earl of Murray.

John Cameron of Lochiell.

Laird of Clanronald.

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Laird of *Glenghairy*.

Laird of *Keppach*.

Mr. *John Fullerton* of *Greenhall*.

Mac-Intosh Younger of *Borlam*.

James Malcolm.

Mr. *Harry Maule* Brother to the Earl
of *Panmure*.

Wackinshaw of *Barafield*.

Colin Campbel of *Glenderule*.

Graham of *Bucklivy*.

George Hume of *Whitfield*.

Master *John Drummond* Brother to the
Lord *Drummond*.

Lyon of *Auclerhouse*.

Colonel *Balfour*.

Master *Balfour*.

Bothune of *Balfour*.

At the same time Orders were sent to
Major General *Wightman*, who was then
Commander in Chief in *Scotland*, and was
upon the Spot, forthwith to march with
all the Regular Troops that could be spa-
red, to form a Camp in the Park of *Ster-
ling*, to secure the important Pass of *Ster-
ling-Bridge* over the *Forth*, and to quar-
ter the Half-pay Officers, in such a man-
ner all over the Country, as that they
might be in readiness to Encourage, Ex-
ercise, and Command the Militia on any E-
mergence. Orders were likewise given to all
Officers

Officers in the Sea-Port Towns, to have a watchful Eye over all Ships who came into the said Ports, or appear'd upon the Coast, lest they should land the *Pretender*, or any others suspected Persons, or bring the Rebels any Supply of Arms, or Ammunition. But notwithstanding these Orders, and that all possible Care was taken in the case, there was a small Ship came to *Arbroth*, a little Port in the North of *Scotland*, loaden with Arms and Ammunition, and which had some Gentlemen on Board from *France*; which Ship was there unloaden by the Highlanders. A few Days after, another Ship arrived with several Officers, but no Stores of Arms, &c. The said Officers went directly for *Perth* to the Earl of *Mar*, and gave him an Account that the *Pretender* would be soon in Person amongst them; which News the Earl of *Mar* caused to be immediately published in his Army, to encourage the Men. And now his Forces being considerably encreased, he resolved to cross the *Forth*, if possible, and advance towards *Edinburgh*. He design'd this Passage five or six Miles above *Sterling*, and to make a swift March, that he might not be prevented by the King's Forces, who were yet but very weak. The Day he appointed was the 18th of *October*;

October ; but upon Intelligence receiv'd that his Plot was discover'd, and a Detachment order'd to wait upon his March, he put it off ; and tho' part of his Army was advanc'd some Miles, he return'd back to *Perth*.

Some few Days before this, the Earl of *Mar*, resolving to make use of the Advantages he had, by possessing so large an Extent of the Country, thought of raising some Money, and to that End issued out the following Proclamation for an Assessment.

‘ P **U**rsuant and conform to an Order
 ‘ from the Right Honourable *John*
 ‘ Earl of *Mar*, Commander in Chief of
 ‘ his Majesty’s Forces in *Scotland*, dated
 ‘ at the Camp at *Perth* the 4th of *October*, 1715. These are commanding
 ‘ and requiring every Heretor, Fewer,
 ‘ or Woodsetter now attending the King’s
 ‘ Standard, or that may be excus’d, or
 ‘ their Factors and Doers in their Absence,
 ‘ and likewise all Life-Renters ;
 ‘ do immediately proportion and raise,
 ‘ among their Tenants and Possessors of
 ‘ their respective Estates, and Life-Rent
 ‘ Lands, the Sum of Twenty Shillings
 ‘ Sterling on each Hundred Pounds
 ‘ of *Scots*, of Valued Rent : And such
 ‘ Heretors

‘ Heretors who do not immediately, nor
 ‘ shall, betwixt the 12th of *October* Instant,
 ‘ attend the King’s Standard, if not excused
 ‘ by the said noble Earl, immediately pro-
 ‘ portion and raise out of their respective
 ‘ Estates, the Sum of Forty Shillings
 ‘ sterling on each Hundred Pounds *Scots*,
 ‘ of Valued Rent; which several Propor-
 ‘ tions, according to their respective Cases
 ‘ aforesaid, are, by the said Order, or-
 ‘ dain’d to be paid by every Heretor,
 ‘ Fewer, Wood-seller, and Life-Renter,
 ‘ to ——— Collector, against the 12th
 ‘ Day of this Instant *October*, at —

Upon this the Duke of *Argyle*, to pre-
 vent as much as possible the Effect of it,
 made the following Counter-Order.

*By John Duke of Argyle, General and
 Commander in Chief of His Majesty’s
 Forces in Scotland.*

‘ **W** Hereas I am certainly informed,
 ‘ That the Earl of *Mar*, and the
 ‘ other Rebels, have, in Prosecution of
 ‘ their Treasonable Practices, adventur’d
 ‘ to impose a Cess upon some Parts of
 ‘ the Shires of *Fife*, *Clackmanan*, *Kinross*,
 ‘ and *Perth*; and whereas the paying
 ‘ any Money to the Rebels, or comply-
 ‘ ing with any of their Orders or De-
 ‘ mands, will infer High-Treason against
 ‘ such

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‘ such as do the same, as being Aiders,
‘ Comforters, and Abettors of the Rebels.
‘ Therefore, and that all well-affected
‘ People may know and prevent their
‘ Danger in this Matter, I hereby, in
‘ His Majesty’s Name and Authority,
‘ strictly prohibit and discharge all His
‘ Majesty’s good Subjects, in the Coun-
‘ tries abovementioned, or any other-
‘ where within *Scotland*, to give or fur-
‘ nish the Rebels with Money, Provisions,
‘ or any other Aid or Assistance or Com-
‘ fort whatsoever, directly or indirectly,
‘ under the highest Pains and Punish-
‘ ments of the Law. And this I appoint
‘ to be intimated at each Parish-Church-
‘ Door after divine Service, and before
‘ Dissolution of the Congregation, the
‘ Sabbath immediately after this, or a
‘ Copy hereof, comes to your Hand.

*Given at Sterling the 25th
of October, 1715.*

Sign’d,

ARGYLE.

And

And another Order for Recruiting His Majesty's Forces, as follows :

By John Duke of Argyle, General and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

‘ **W** Hereas our gracious Sovereign
 ‘ King GEORGE has been plea-
 ‘ sed, for the better suppressing the pre-
 ‘ sent Rebellion, to order and appoint
 ‘ two Companies to be added to each Re-
 ‘ giment of Foot now in His Majesty's
 ‘ Service in *Scotland*, and to appoint each
 ‘ Company to be augmented to the Num-
 ‘ ber of Fifty private Centinels. And
 ‘ since it must be evident to all well-af-
 ‘ fected People, that the strengthning
 ‘ and augmenting the Regular Troops, is
 ‘ the most effectual way for suppressing
 ‘ the Rebellion, and that the same will
 ‘ bring no Charge nor Burthen upon the
 ‘ Country ; and that the Harvest is over,
 ‘ whereby many People, that were that
 ‘ Way employ'd, are now at Liberty.
 ‘ And in regard the Officers of the sever-
 ‘ ral Regiments are so employ'd in His
 ‘ Majesty's Service, that they cannot con-
 ‘ veniently attend the Recruiting in this
 ‘ Country : I hereby intreat and require
 ‘ all well-affected Noblemen, Gentle-
 ‘ men,

‘ men, Justices of the Peace, Magistrates,
 ‘ Ministers of the Gospel, or other well-
 ‘ affected Subjects, to contribute their
 ‘ best Endeavours to persuade and encour-
 ‘ age all the Able-body’d and well-af-
 ‘ fected Men, in their respective Paro-
 ‘ chins in Town and Country, within
 ‘ *Scotland*, to Inlist themselves in the re-
 ‘ Regular Forces. And I, in His Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Name, do promise, that the En-
 ‘ deavours of such as shall be useful in
 ‘ this Matter, shall be looked upon as
 ‘ good Service, and entitle them to His
 ‘ Majesty’s Favour and Protection. And
 ‘ for the Encouragement of such as shall
 ‘ Inlist themselves voluntarily in Com-
 ‘ pliance herewith, I, in His Majesty’s
 ‘ Name, promise, that each Voluntier
 ‘ so inlisting and incorporating him-
 ‘ self in any of His Majesty’s Regiments
 ‘ of Foot now in *Scotland*, shall not on-
 ‘ ly receive His Majesty’s Bounty-Mo-
 ‘ ney of Forty Shillings sterling in Hand,
 ‘ but shall, at the end of three Months,
 ‘ after the present Rebellion is suppress’d,
 ‘ draw and receive his Pass, discharging
 ‘ him from the Service, if he require
 ‘ the same ; each Man who shall so desire
 ‘ to be discharged, always giving two
 ‘ Months Advertisment before drawing
 ‘ his Discharge, to the Commanding
 ‘ Officer

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‘ Officer of the Regiment for the Time,
‘ to the effect he may provide another
‘ Man in his room. And I appoint the
‘ Sheriffs and Stewarts of the several She-
‘ riffdoms and Stewartries, and the Ma-
‘ gistrates of Royal Burrows, forthwith
‘ to dispatch Copies hereof to the Mini-
‘ sters of the several Parochins within
‘ their Jurisdiction, as they shall be an-
‘ swerable at their Peril. And I appoint
‘ the same to be intimate at each Paroch-
‘ Church from the Pulpit, after divine
‘ Service, and before Dissolution of the
‘ Congregation, on the Sabbath imme-
‘ diately after this, or a Copy hereof,
‘ comes to the respective Ministers Hands;
‘ and do recommend to the several Mi-
‘ nisters earnestly to exhort the People
‘ to their Duty in this Matter, for the
‘ Service of their King and Country.

*Given at the Camp at Sterling,
the 27th of October, 1715.*

Sign'd,

ARGYLE.

A few

A few Days after, the Earl of *Mar* publish'd the following Counter-Order to that Order.

By John Earl of Mar, General and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

‘ **W** Hereas by the Laws of God,
 ‘ the Right of Blood, and the
 ‘ ancient Constitution of these Kingdoms,
 ‘ our Sovereign Lord *James* the Eighth,
 ‘ by the Grace of God, of *Scotland, Eng-*
 ‘ *land, France, and Ireland*, King, De-
 ‘ fender of the Faith, &c. has the only
 ‘ undoubted Title to the Crown of these
 ‘ Realms: And whereas his Majesty’s
 ‘ Restoration is the only way left to re-
 ‘ trieve the unhappy Consequences of the
 ‘ *Union*, disburthen the People of the
 ‘ heavy Taxes and Mortgages they now
 ‘ groan under, and to prevent our Poste-
 ‘ rity from being involved in endless Mi-
 ‘ series: And whereas many of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s loyal Subjects of all Ranks, have
 ‘ dutifully assembled themselves to the
 ‘ Royal Standard, in order to restore our
 ‘ rightful Sovereign to his Crown, and
 ‘ these

' these Kingdoms to their ancient and
 ' independant State. And I having seen
 ' an Order publish'd by the Commander
 ' in Chief of the pretended King's Forces
 ' in this Kingdom, setting forth, That
 ' the Forces under his Command were
 ' to be augmented, and inviting *all Able-*
 ' *body'd Men to Inlist themselves in that*
 ' Service, and requiring *all Noblemen, Gen-*
 ' *tlemen, Justices of the Peace, Magi-*
 ' *strates, Ministers of the Gospel, and*
 ' others, *to contribute their best Endea-*
 ' *vours to persuade and encourage Men*
 ' thereunto. These are therefore, in
 ' his Majesty's Name, prohibiting and
 ' discharging all Noblemen, Gentle-
 ' men, Justices of Peace, Magistrates,
 ' Ministers of the Gospel, and all
 ' other Subjects whatsoever, to pub-
 ' lish, execute, or obey the said Or-
 ' der, and that under the highest
 ' Pain.

' And whereas I have promis'd, in
 ' his Majesty's Name, Protection to all
 ' Ministers who behave themselves duti-
 ' fully, and do not acknowledge the E-
 ' lector of *Brunswick* as King, by pray-
 ' ing for him as such in their Churches
 ' and Congregations, notwithstanding
 ' whereof several of them continue in

N

' that

' that Abuse: For preventing whereof,
 ' and that they may not, by so doing,
 ' involve and mislead innocent and ig-
 ' norant People into Traiterous and Se-
 ' ditious Practices: These are therefore
 ' expressly prohibiting all Ministers, as
 ' well in Churches as in Meeting-
 ' Houses, to acknowledge the Elector
 ' of *Brunswick* as King, and that up-
 ' on their highest Peril: And all Offi-
 ' cers Civil and Military are hereby
 ' ordered to shut up the Church-Doors,
 ' where the Ministers act in Contempt
 ' hereof, and to apprehend their Per-
 ' sons, and bring them Prisoners to the
 ' King's Camp, where-ever it shall be
 ' for the Time. And I do, by these
 ' Presents, promise Protection to all
 ' such Ministers as do behave them-
 ' selves dutifully towards his Majesty,
 ' and I appoint the Sheriffs and Ste-
 ' warts of the several Sherifffdoms and
 ' Stewartries, and the Magistrates of
 ' Royal Burrows, forthwith to dispatch
 ' Copies thereof to the Ministers of
 ' the several Paroches within their Ju-
 ' risdictions, as they shall be answer-
 ' able upon their Peril: And I also
 ' appoint the same to be intimate at
 ' each Parish-Church, by the Mini-
 ' ster,

‘ ster, Precentor, or Reader, before
 ‘ divine Service, immediately after the
 ‘ Minister enters the Pulpit, on the
 ‘ Sabbath next after a Copy hereof
 ‘ comes to their Hands.

*Given at the Camp at Perth, the
 1st of November, 1715.*

*Perth, Printed by
 Mr. Robert Free-
 bairn, 1715.*

And thus for a-while the two Generals fought with Pen, Ink, and Paper only: But we shall now come to several Actions of another Nature.

October 20th, a certain Account was brought to *Edinburgh*, that a Body of the Western Highland Clans, consisting of 2300 Men commanded by General *Gordon*, came before *Inverrary* the chief Town in *Argyleshire*, and having that Night view'd the Place, march'd back to a Mill about half a Mile from the Town, and were soon after reinforced by 300 of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men. The next Day they view'd the Town a second time, and again returned to their former Quar-

ters. On the 22d they drew up a third time, and sent Detachments to cut Fashines, as if they designed to attack the Town: But finding that the Earl of *Ilay*, who commanded the Town, was ready to receive them, they thought fit once more to retreat to their Quarters, and on the 24th left the Place, and marched thro' *Glenarchy* in their way to join the Earl of *Mar*. -

The preserving the Town of *Inverrary*, was a considerable Piece of Service; for had the Rebels been Masters of that important Pass, they might have pour'd in their Men, either towards *Glasgow*, or into the Shire of *Air*, and must have been fought with, perhaps, to Disadvantage, as things then stood, or they would have joined the Rebels in the North of *England* at their Pleasure.

October the 23d, The Duke of *Argyle* had notice that a Party of the Rebels consisting of 200 Foot and 100 Horse, were marching by *Castle Campbell* towards *Dumfermling*. Upon this Intelligence, his Grace immediately sent off a Detachment of Dragoons, under the Command of Colonel *Cathcart*, who came up with the Rebels the 24th, at five a-Clock in the Morning; and after having killed
and

and wounded several of them, took seventeen Prisoners ; amongst them the following Gentlemen :

Mr. *Murray* Brother to the Laird of *Aberkernie*.

Mr. *Hay* Son to *Arboth*.

Mr. *Patrick Gordon*, *Abertour's* eldest Son.

Alexander Forbes Son to *Buflie*.

William Robertson Brother to *Donsbills*.

Mr. *Kenloch* a Physician.

Alexander Smith.

Mr. *Alexander Gordon*.

Francis Gordon of *Craig*.

Mr. *Hamilton* of *Gibstown* in *Strabogie*.

And,

George Gordon of the *Miln* of *Kincardine*.

The same Evening Colonel *Cathcart* returned to the Camp at *Sterling* with his Prisoners. A few Days after, a Detachment sent by the Earl of *Hay* into *Lorn* to intercept about 400 of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* Men, who were in motion to join the Rebels, being come up with, and having surrounded them, obliged them to separate and return to their several Habitations.

By this time the Earl of *Mar* being joined by the Earl of *Seaforth*, Sir *Donald Mac-Donald*, and others, with their respective Clans, to the Number of 8000 Men, were preparing to march from *Perth*, to join General *Gordon* with the Western Clans at *Auchterarder*, in order to attempt the crossing the *Forth*, which was indeed his main Design. This was the 12th of *November*. Upon Intelligence of this March, for the Rebels advanc'd from *Perth* with their whole Army, the Duke of *Argyle* sent for a Train of Field-Artillery from *Edinburgh*; and having received all the Reinforcements he expected from *Ireland*, his Grace resolv'd not to suffer them to reach the Bank of *Forth*, but to fight them where-ever he could come up with them. Accordingly he pass'd the *Forth* at *Sterling-Bridge* with his whole Army, and advanced towards *Dumblain*.

This occasioned a general Engagement, or Battle, fought near *Dumblain*, at a Place called *Sheriff-Muir*, on *Sunday November 13*. And for the Reader's better Information, I shall present him with an Account of that Action, as it is related by both Parties; that so, seeing each Party claims the Victory, he may judge whose it was by the Conclusion. The Accounts are thus; the first is that of
Colonel

Colonel *Harrison*, being sent Express to His Majesty by the Duke of *Argyle*, and who arrived at St. *James's* Saturday the 19th. The second Account is that of Major General *Wightman*. The third Account is the Earl of *Mar's* Letter to Colonel *Balfour* Governour of *Perth*. And the fourth Account is the Earl of *Mar's* printed One.

Colonel Harrison's Account of the Victory.

THE Duke of *Argyle* being informed on the 12th, that the Rebels had come to *Auchterarder* with their Baggage, Artillery, and a sufficient quantity of Bread for a March of many Days, found he was obliged either to engage them on the Grounds near *Dumblain*, or to decamp and wait their coming to the Head of *Forth*. He chose the first on many Accounts, and amongst others, that the Grounds near *Dumblain* were much more advantageous for his Horse, than those at the Head of the River; and besides this, by the Frost then beginning, the *Forth* might become passable in several Places, which the small Number of his Troops did not enable him to guard sufficiently. He likewise received Ad-

vice, that the 12th at Night the Rebels designed to encamp at *Dumblain*; upon which, judging it of Importance to prevent them by possessing that Place, he marched the 12th in the Forenoon, and encamped with his Left at *Dumblain*, and his Right towards the *Sheriff-Moor*; the Enemy that Night stopped within two Miles of *Dumblain*. Next Morning his Grace being informed by his advanced Guard that the Rebels were forming, he rode to a Rising-Ground, where he viewed the Enemy distinctly, and found, as they pointed their March, they designed streight upon our Flank. The Moor to to our Right was the preceding Night unpassable, and guarded us from being flanked on that side, but by the Frost was become passable. His Grace therefore ordered his Troops to stretch to the Right in the following Order, three Squadrons of Dragoons upon Right and Left in the Front Line, and six Battallions of Foot in the Center. The second Line was composed of two Battalions, in the Center, one Squadron in the Right, and another on their Left, and one Squadron of Dragoons behind each Wing of Horse in the first Line. As the Right of our Army came over-against the Left of the Rebels, which they had put to a Morass,

his

his Grace finding they were not quite formed, gave Orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their Horse and Foot. They received us very briskly; but after some Resistance, were broke through, and were pursued above two Miles by five Squadrons of Dragoons, the Squadron of Volunteers, and five Battalions of Foot. When we came near the River *Allan*, by the vast Number of Rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an entire Rout, and resolved to pursue as long as we had Day-light. The pursuing to the River *Allan* had taken up a long time, by reason of the frequent Attempts they had made to form in different Places, which obliged us as oft to attack and break them. When they were in part passed, and others passing the *Allan*, Major General *Wightman*, who commanded the five Battalions of Foot, sent to acquaint the Duke of *Argyle* that he could not discover what was become of our Troops on the Left, and that a considerable Body of the Rebels Horse and Foot stood behind us. Upon that his Grace halted, formed his Troops in order, and marched towards the Hill on which the Rebels had posted themselves. Thereafter his Grace extended his Right towards *Dumblain*, to give his
Left

Left an Opportunity of joining him. There we continued until it was late, and not finding our Left come up, his Grace marched slowly towards the Ground on which he had formed in the Morning. So soon as it was Dark, the Rebels, who continued undispersed on the top of the Hill, moved to *Ardoch*. About an Hour after, our Troops which had been separated from the Duke of *Argyle*, joined his Grace. Our Dragoons on the Left, in the beginning of the Action, charged some of their Horse on the Right, and carried off a Standard; but at the same time the Rebels pressed so hard on our Battalions on the Left, that they were disordered, and obliged to fall in amongst the Horse. The Rebels by this means cut off the Communication betwixt our Left and the other Body; and they being informed a Body of the Rebels were endeavouring to get to *Sterling*, the Troops of our Left retired beyond *Dumblain*, to possess themselves of the Passes leading there. We have as yet no certain Account of the Numbers killed, but it's reckoned they may be about 800, amongst whom there are several Persons of Distinction. The Quality of Prisoners is not yet fully known, only that the Viscount of *Strathallan*,

thallan; two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, nine Captains, besides Subalterns, are brought to *Sterling*. We have likewise carried off fourteen Colours and Standards, four Pieces of Cannon, Tombrells with Ammunition, and all their Bread-Waggon. This Victory was not obtained without the Loss of some brave Men on our side; the Earl of *Forfar*'s Wounds are so many that his Life is despaired of. The Earl of *Ilay*, who came half an Hour before the Action, received two Wounds, the one in his Arm, and the other in his Side; but the Bullet being cut out of his Side, it is hoped he is past Danger. General *Evans* received a Cut in the Head. Colonel *Hawley* was shot through the Body; but there is hopes of his Recovery. Colonel *Lawrence* is taken. Colonel *Hammers*, and Captain *Armstrong* *Aid de Camp* to the Duke of *Argyle*, are killed. The Courage of the King's Troops were never keener than on this Occasion; who, tho' the Rebels were three times the Number, yet attacked and pursued them with all the Resolution imaginable. The Conduct and Bravery of the Generals and inferior Officers contributed much to this Success: But above all, the great Example of his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, whose

whose Presence not only gave Spirit to the Action, but gained Success as often as he led on. The Troop of Horse Volunteers, who consisted of Noblemen and Gentlemen of Distinction, shewed their Quality by the Gallantry of their Behaviour ; in a particular manner the Duke of Roxburgh, the Lords Rothes, Haddingtoun, Lauderdale, Loudoun, Belhaven, and Sir John Shaw.

A LIST of the Officers and Soldiers killed, wounded, or missing, in the Battle of Sheriff-Moor, of the Troops under the Duke of Argyle.

Of Portmore's Regiment :

Captain Roberson, and a Quarter-Master wounded : Two Dragoons kill'd, and four wounded.

Of Evans's Regiment :

Captain Farrer his Thigh-bone broke : Colonel Hawley shot through the Shoulder : A Cornet, and a few private Men kill'd.

Of

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Of Lord Forfar's Regiment :

Himself shot in the Knee, and cut in the Head with 10 or 12 Strokes from their Broad Swords after Quarter: Ensign *Branch*, and eight private Men kill'd.

Of Wightman's Regiment :

Ensign *Mark* wounded : Two Grenadiers, and two or three Men kill'd.

Of Shannon's Regiment :

Captain *Arnot* kill'd, and five or six Men kill'd and wounded. These, with a Squadron of *Stair's* Dragoons, were the Troops that composed the Right, and beat the Rebels.

On the Left.

Of Morrison's Regiment :

Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamar*, two Captains, four Lieutenants, and three Ensigns missing ; with a good many private Men.

Of

Of Montague's :

Lieutenant-Colonel *Laurence*, Captain *Umbell*, Captain *Bernard*, missing ; and a good many private Men kill'd.

Of Clayton's Regiment :

Captain *Barlow* kill'd.

Of the Fuzileers :

Captain *Chiesly*, Lieutenant *Hay* and Lieutenant *Michelson* missing, and said to be taken, and Captain *Urquhart*, wounded.

Of Egerton's Regiment :

Captain *Danoer* wounded, and a few private Men kill'd.

A particular LIST of the Names of the Gentlemen Prisoners, brought to the Castle of Sterling, the 14th of November.

Lord *Strathallan*.

Barrowfield.

Logie Drummond.

Mr. Murray of Auchtertyre.

Mr. Thomas Drummond Brother

to

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to the Viscount of Strathal-
lan.

Mr. Drummond of Drumquhany.

Captain William Creighton.

Mr. John Ross Son to the Arch-
bishop of St. Andrews.

Mr. Nairn of Baldwale.

Mr. William Hay.

John Gordon Captain.

William Forbes Lieutenant.

Archibald Fotheringham Lieute-
nant.

Alex. Garrioch Ensign.

Jn. Carnagie Chirurgeon.

Nicol. Donaldson Ensign.

Alex. Steuart of Innerfrawie, Fo-
rester to the Duke of Athol.

Neil M'Glasson Chamberlain to
the Duke of Athol.

James Steuart Lieutenant.

William Adamson Lieutenant.

John Robertson Lieutenant.

James Gordon Chirurgeon.

David Gardin Captain of Pan-
mure's Regiment.

Kenneth Mackenzie Nephew to
Sir Alexander Mackenzie of
Coull.

Cha. Gardin of Bittistern.

John M'Lean Adjutant to Colonel
Mackenzie's Regiment.

Colin

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*Colin Mackenzie of Kildin, Cap-
tain of Fairbonie's Regiment.*

Mr. John Rattray.

Mr. Peter Steuart.

Mr. George Taylor.

Duncan M'Intosh.

James Peddie.

John Forbes.

Alexander Steuart.

Donald Mitchel.

Francis Finlay.

Mr. James Lyon.

Mr. Auchterlony.

Lewis Cramond.

William Steuart.

George Mear.

Hector M'Lean.

Alexander Mill.

John M'Intosh.

Robert M'Intosh.

Hugh Calder.

James Innes.

Donald M'Pherson.

John Morgan.

Donald Robertson.

Robert Menzies.

William Menzies.

John Menzies.

William Menzies.

William Steuart.

Alex. M'Lachlan.

Women's Men.

Patrick

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Patrick Campbell.

Hugh M'Raw.

Donald M'Raw.

Christopher M'Rae.

John Lesley.

James Edgar.

James Mill.

John Gordon.

Donald M'Murrie.

Murdoch M'Pher'son.

Alexander Cameron.

Donald M'Naughtie.

Ewan M Lachlan.

Ewan M'Donald.

Donald Robertson.

James Keoch.

Thomas Robertson.

Alexander Morison.

Andrew Jamison.

Robert Miller.

Adam Grinsell.

Angus Steuart.

John Robertson.

John Cattinach.

John Richie Merchant in Edinburgh.

*Captain Cha. Chalmers late of the
Foot-Guards, one of the Earl
of Mar's Majors.*

*Major-General Wightman's Account of
the Battle.*

Sterling, Nov. 14th, 1715.
at Eleven at Night.

LAST Friday I arrived from *Edinburgh*, where I had finish'd all the Works and Barricadoes that I had Orders to do for the Security of that Town; and as soon as I came to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, he told me he was glad to see me, and that as he intended to make a March towards the Enemy the next Morning, he had sent an Express to *Edinburgh* for me. Accordingly on *Saturday* the 12th Instant, our whole Army march'd over the Bridge of *Sterling* towards the Enemy, who lay at a Place call'd *Ardoch*, about seven Miles from this Place, and in the Evening our Army came within about three Miles of the Enemy's Camp. We lay all that Night on our Arms, and the next Morning being *Sunday*, by break of Day I went with his Grace where our advanc'd Guard was posted, and had a plain View of the Rebels Army, all drawn up in Line of Battle, which

which consisted of Nine thousand and one hundred Men. They seem'd to make a Motion towards us: Upon which the Duke order'd me immediately back, to put our Men in Order; and soon after, his Grace order'd them to march to the top of a Hill against the Enemy: But before all, or not above half our Army, was form'd in Line of Battle, the Enemy attack'd us. The Right of their Line, which vastly out-wing'd us, lay in a hollow Way, which was not perceiv'd by us, nor possible for us to know it, the Enemy having Possession of the Brow of the Hill; but the Left of their Army was very plain to our View. The moment we got to the top of the Hill, not above half of our Men were come up, or could form; the Enemy, that were within little more than Pistol-shot, began the Attack with all their Left upon our Right. I had the Command of the Foot: The Enemy were Highlanders; and as it is their Custom, gave us Fire; and a great many came up to our Noses, Sword in Hand; but the Horse on our Right, with the constant Fire of the Plottoons of Foot, soon put the Left of their Army to the Rout. The Duke of *Argyle* pursuing, as he thought, the Main of their Army, which he drove before him above a Mile

and a half over a River. As I march'd after him as fast as I could, with a little above three Regiments of Foot, I heard great Firing on our Left; and sent my Aid-de-Camp to see the Occasion of it, and found that the Right of the Enemy's Army, that lay in the hollow Way, and was superior to that Part of their Army which we had beaten, was fallen upon the Left of our Line, with all the Fury imaginable; and, as our Men were not form'd, they cut off just the half of our Foot, and our Squadrons on our Left. The Duke, who pursued the Enemy very fast, was not apprized of this: And as he had order'd me to march as fast as I could after him, I was oblig'd to slacken my March, and send to his Grace to inform him of what had happened. I kept what Foot I had in perfect Order, not knowing but my Rear might soon be attack'd by the Enemy that had beat our Left, which proved to be the Flower of their Army. At last, when the Duke had put to Flight that part of the Rebel-Army he was engag'd with, he came back to me, and could not have imagin'd to see such an Army as was behind us, being three times our Number; but as I had kept that part of our Foot which first engag'd in very good Order, his Grace join'd me
with

with five Squadrons of Dragoons, and we put the best Face on the Matter to the Right about, and so march'd to the Enemy, who had defeated all the Left of our Army. If they had had either Courage or Conduct, they might have entirely destroy'd my Body of Foot ; but it pleas'd God to the contrary. I am apt to conjecture, their Spirits were not a little damp't, by having been Witnesses some Hours before of the firm Behaviour of my Foot, and thought it hardly possible to break us. We march'd in a Line of Battle, till we came within half a Mile of the Enemy, and found them ranged at the top of a Hill, on very Advantageous Ground, and above 4000 in Number. We posted our selves at the Bottom of the Hill, having the Advantage of Ground, where their Horse could not well attack us : For we had the Convenience of some Earth-Walls, or Ditches, about Breast high ; and, as Evening grew on, we inclined with our Right towards the Town of *Dumblain*, in all the Order that was possible. The Enemy behaved like civil Gentlemen, and let us do what we pleas'd ; so that we pass'd the Bridge of *Dumblain*, posted our selves very securely, and lay on our Arms all Night. This Morning we went with a

Body of Dragoons to the Field of Battle, brought off the wounded Men, and came to this Town in the Evening. General *Webb's* late Regiment, now *Morrison's*, is one of the unfortunate Regiments that were not form'd, and suffer'd most. Major *Hamar* is kill'd, with young *Hillary*, and many other Officers. General *Evans* and I had the good Fortune to be on the Right Wing, with the Duke. General *Evans* had his Horse shot dead under him, and escaped very narrowly, as well as my self.

P. S. Our whole Army did not consist of above a Thousand Dragoons, and 2500 Foot; and but a little more than Half of them engaged. However, I must do the Enemy that Justice, to say, *I never saw Regular Troops more exactly drawn up in Line of Battle, and that in a Moment; and their Officers behav'd with all the Gallantry imaginable.* All I can say, is, *It will be of the last Danger to the Government, if we have not Force to destroy them soon.* The Loss on both Sides I leave for another Time, when we have a more exact Account.

The Earl of Mar's Letter to Colonel Balfour, Governor of Perth.

Ardoch, Nov. 13th, 1715.

‘ I Thought you would be anxious to
‘ know the Fate of this Day. We at-
‘ tack’d the Enemy on the End of the
‘ *Sheriff-Moor* at twelve of the Clock this
‘ Day, on our Right and Centre; carried
‘ the Day intirely; pursued them down
‘ to a little Hill on the South of *Dum-*
‘ *lain*; and there I got most of our Horse,
‘ and a pretty good Number of our Foot,
‘ and brought them again into some Or-
‘ der. We knew not then what was be-
‘ come of our Left, so we return’d to
‘ the Field of Battle. We discern’d a
‘ Body of the Enemy on the North of
‘ us, consisting mostly of the Grey Dra-
‘ goons, and some of the Black. We also
‘ discover’d a Body of their Foot farther
‘ North upon the Field, where we were
‘ in the Morning; and East of that, a
‘ Body, as we thought, of our own Foot,
‘ and I still believe it was so. I form’d
‘ the Horse and Foot with me in a Line
‘ on the North-side of the Hill where
‘ we

‘ we had engaged, and kept our Front to-
 ‘ wards the Enemy to the North of us,
 ‘ who seem’d, at first, as if they intended
 ‘ to march towards us; but upon our
 ‘ forming, and marching towards them,
 ‘ they halted, and march’d back to *Dum-*
 ‘ *blain*. Our Baggage and Train-Horses
 ‘ had all run away in the beginning of
 ‘ the Action: But we got some Horses,
 ‘ and brought off most of the Train to
 ‘ this Place, where we quarter to Night
 ‘ about *Ardoch*, whither we march’d in
 ‘ very good Order: And had our Left
 ‘ and Second Line behaved as our Right
 ‘ and the rest of the First Line did, our
 ‘ Victory had been compleat: But ano-
 ‘ ther Day is coming for that, and I hope
 ‘ e’re long too.

‘ I send you a List of the Officers
 ‘ Names who are Prisoners here, besides
 ‘ those who are dangerously wounded,
 ‘ and could not come along, whose
 ‘ Words of Honour were taken. Two of
 ‘ these are the Earl of *Forfar*, who, I’m
 ‘ afraid will die, and Captain *Urquhart*
 ‘ of *Buris-Yard*, who is very ill wounded.
 ‘ We have also a good Number of private
 ‘ Men Prisoners; but the Number I do
 ‘ not exactly know.

‘ We have lost, to our Regret, the
 ‘ Earl of *Strathmore*, and the Captain of
 ‘ *Clan-*

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‘ *Clan-Ranald*. Some are missing; but
‘ their Fate we are not sure of.

‘ The Earl of *Panmure*, *Drummond* of
‘ *Logie*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Mac-*
‘ *lean* are wounded. This is all that I
‘ have to say now, but that I am,

Yours, &c.

M A R.

P. S. We have taken a great many
of the Enemy's Arms.

Montague's Regiment.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Albert Lawrence.*

Captain *John Edwards.*

Clayton's :

Captain *William Barlow.*

Lieutenant *Edward Gibson.*

Captain *Michel Moret.*

Lord Mark Ker's :

Captain *Walter Chiesly.*

Earl Orrery's :

Lieutenant *Thomas Mitchelson, Hay,*
and *Richard Heneway.*

Brigadier

Brigadier Morrison's :

Ensign *Justin Holdman*, since dead ;
Glenkedy, and a good Number of
 private Men and Arms.

*The following Letter was written three
 Days after the Battle, by the Governor
 of Brunt-Island.*

Nov. 16. 1715.

‘ **T**His Morning we had the follow-
 ‘ ing Particulars by Letters from
 ‘ the Governor of *Perth*, and Mr. *Mark*
 ‘ *Wood Dean* of *Guild* there : viz. That
 ‘ 110 private Men were brought Priso-
 ‘ ners to *Perth* Yesterday, with ten Offi-
 ‘ cers. The Enemy lost on the Spot a-
 ‘ bove 800 Men ; and of ours, there is
 ‘ not above sixty private Men killed, but
 ‘ several of our Officers are taken. We
 ‘ have got forty good Horses, and 1500
 ‘ Stand of the Enemies Arms. Upon
 ‘ Receipt of this News the Governor
 ‘ acquainted the Magistrates, whereupon
 ‘ they went to Church, and thank’d
 ‘ God for the Victory.

Brigadier

An

An Account of the Engagement on the Sheriff-Muir near Dumblain, Novemb. 13. 1715. betwixt the K's Army, commanded by the Earl of Mar, and the D. of B — k's, commanded by Argyle.

THere being various and different Reports industriously spread Abroad, to cover the Victory obtained by the King's Army over the Enemy; the best Way to set it in a clear Light, is, to narrate the true Matter of Fact, and leave it to the World to judge impartially thereof.

Thursday, Nov. 10. The Earl of *Mar* review'd the Army at *Auchterarder*.

Friday 11. Rested.

Saturday 12. The Earl of *Mar* order'd Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, and Brigadier *Ogilvie*, with three Squadrons of the Marquis of *Huntley*, and the Master of *Sinclair's* five Squadrons of Horse, and all the Clans, to march and take Possession of *Dumblain*, which was order'd to be done two Days before, but was delay'd by some Interruptions, and all the rest of the Army was order'd, at the same time, to parade upon the Muir of *Tullibardine* very early, and to march after General *Gordon*. The Earl of *Mar* went

went to *Drummond-Castle*, to meet with my Lord *Broadalbin*, and ordered General *Hamilton* to march the Army. Upon the March, General *Hamilton* had Intelligence of a Body of the Enemy's having taken Possession of *Dumblain*, which Account he sent immediately to the Earl of *Mar*. A little after, General *Hamilton* had another Express from General *Gordon*, who was then about two Miles to the Westward of *Ardoch*, that he had Intelligence of a great Body of the Enemy's being in *Dumblain*; upon which General *Hamilton* drew up the Army, so as the Ground, at the *Roman Camp*, near *Ardoch*, would allow. A very little after, the Earl of *Mar* came up to the Army, and not hearing any more from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, who was march'd on, judg'd it to be only some small Party of the Enemy to disturb our March, ordered the Guards to be posted, and the Army to their Quarters, with Orders to assemble upon the Parade, any time of the Night or Day, upon the firing of three Cannon. A little after the Army was dismiss'd, the Earl of *Mar* had an Account from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, that he had certain Intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle's* being at *Dumblain* with his whole Army. Upon which the General was ordered to halt,

halt, till the Earl should come up to him, and ordered the three Guns to be fired ; upon which the Army form'd immediately, and march'd up to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* at *Kinbuck*, where the whole Army lay under Arms, with Guards advanc'd from each Squadron and Battalion till break of Day.

Sunday the 13th, The Earl of *Mar* gives Orders for the whole Army to form on the Moor, to the Left of the Road that leads to *Dumblain*, fronting to *Dumblain* ; the General Persons were ordered to their Posts. The *Sterling* Squadron with the King's Standard, and two Squadrons of the Marquis of *Huntley's*, form'd the Right of the first Line of Horse. All the Clans form'd the Right of the first Line of Foot ; the *Perthshyre* and *Fife-shyre* Squadrons form'd the Left of the first Line of Horse ; the Earl *Marshall's* Squadron on the Right of the second Line, three Battalions of the Marquis of *Seaforth's* Foot, two Battalions of my Lord *Huntley's*, the Earl of *Panmure's*, the Marquis of *Tullibardine's*, the Battalions of *Drummond* commanded by the Viscount of *Strathallan* and *Logie Almond*, the Battalion of *Strowan*, and the *Angus* Squadron of Horse form'd the second Line. When the Army was forming,
we

we discover'd some small Number of the Enemy, on the Height of the West-end of the *Sheriff-Muir*, which looks into *Dumblain*; from which Place they had a full View of our Army. The Earl of *Mar* call'd a Council of War, consisting of all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, General Officers, and Heads of the Clans, which was held in the Front of the Horse, on the Left, where it was voted to fight the Enemy, *Nemine contradicente*. Upon which, the Earl of *Mar* ordered the Earl *Marshall*, Major-General of the Horse, with his own Squadron, and Sir *Donald Mac-Donald's* Battalion, to march up to the Height where we saw the Enemy, and dislodge them, and send an Account of their Motions and Dispositions. No sooner the Earl *Marshall* begun his March, but the Enemy disappear'd, and the Earl of *Mar* ordered the Army to march up after them. By the other Generals Orders, the Lines march'd off the Right, divided in the Centre, and march'd up the Hill in four Lines. After marching about a Quarter of a Mile, the Earl of *Marshall* sent back an Account that he discover'd the Enemy forming their Line very near him, to the South of the top of the Hill; upon which the Army, particularly the Horse, was order'd to march
up

up very quickly, and form to the Enemy : but by the breaking of their Lines in marching off, they fell in some Confusion in the forming, and some of the second Line jumbled into the first, on or near the Left, and some of the Horse form'd near the Centre, which seems to have been the Occasion that the Enemy's few Squadrons on the Right were not routed as the rest.

The Earl of *Mar* plac'd himself at the Head of the Clans, and finding the Enemy only forming their Line, thought fit to attack them in that Posture ; he sent Colonel *William Clepham*, Adjutant-General, to the Marquis of *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General of the Horse on the Right, and to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* on the Right of the Right of the Foot, and Major *David Erskine*, one of his Aids-de-Camp, to the Left, with Orders to march up and attack immediately : And upon their return, pulling off his Hat, wav'd it with a Huzza, and advanc'd to the Front of the Enemy's form'd Battalions ; upon which, all the Line to the Right, being of the Clans, led on by Sir *Donald Mac-Donald's* Brothers, *Glengary*, Captain of *Clan-Ranald*, Sir *John Maclean*, *Glenco Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, Colonel of *Broadalbin's*, and Brigadier *Ogilvy*

vy of *Boyne*, with Colonel *Gordon* of *Glen-*
back, at the Head of *Huntley's* Battalions,
 made a most furious Attack, so that in
 seven or eight Minutes, we could neither
 perceive the Form of a Squadron, or Bat-
 talion of the Enemy before us. We
 drove the main Body and Left of the
 Enemy, in this manner, for about half a
 Mile, killing and taking Prisoners all
 that we could overtake. The Earl of
Mar endeavour'd to stop our Foot, and
 put them in some Order to follow the
 Enemy, which we saw making off in
 some small Bodies, from a little Hill be-
 low, towards *Dumblain*, where the Earl
 of *Mar* resolv'd to follow them to com-
 pleat the Victory: When an Account
 was brought him that our Left, and most
 of our second Line, had given way, and
 the Enemy was pursuing them down the
 back of the Hill, and had taken our Ar-
 tillery. Immediately the Earl of *Mar*
 gave Orders for the Horse to wheel, and
 having put the Foot in Order, as fast as
 could be, march'd back with them.
 When he was again near the top of the
 Hill, two Squadrons of the Enemy's
 Grey Dragoons were perceived marching
 towards us. When they came near the
 top of the Hill, and saw us advancing in
 order to attack them, they made much
 faster

faster down the Hill than they came up, and joined at the Foot of the Hill to a small Squadron or two of the Black Dragoons, and a small Battalion of Foot, which we judged had march'd about the West-end of the Hill, and joined them. At first they again seem'd to form on the Low Ground, and advanc'd towards us; but when they saw us marching down the Hill upon them, they filed very speedily to *Dumblain*. The Earl of *Mar* remain'd possesst of the Field of Battle, and our own Artillery, and stood upon the Ground till Sun-set; and then, considering that the Army had no Cover or Victuals the Night before, and none to be had nearer than *Braco*, *Ardoch*, and Adjacents, whereby his Lordship expected the Left to rally, and the Battalions of the Lord *George Murray*, *Innerness*, *M'Pherson*, and *Mac-Gregor*, to join him, resolved to draw off the Artillery, and march the Army to that Place, where were some Provisions; there were two Carriages of the Guns broke, which we left on the Road. But these Battalions did not join us till the next Day Afternoon, before which the Enemy was return'd to *Sterling*.

We took the Earl of *Forfar* who was dangerously wounded, Colonel *Lawrence*,
P and

and ten or twelve Captains and Subalterns, and about 200 Sergeants and private Men, and the Laird of *Glenkindy* one of the Volunteers, four Colours, several Drums, and about 14 or 1500 Stands of Arms. We compute that there lay kill'd in the Field of Battle about 7 or 800 of the Enemy ; and this is certain, that there lay dead upon the Field of Battle above fifteen of the Enemy to one of ours : Besides the Number of the Wounded must be very great.

The Prisoners taken by us were very civilly us'd, and none of them stript. Some are allow'd to return to *Sterling* upon their Parole, and the Officers have the Liberty of the Town of *Perth*. The few Prisoners taken by the Enemy on our Left, were most of them stript and wounded, after taken. The Earl of *Panmure* being first of the Prisoners wounded after taken. They having refus'd his Parole, he was left in a Village, and by the hasty Retreat of the Enemy, upon the approach of our Army, was rescu'd by his Brother and his Servants, and carried off.

Monday 14. The Earl of *Mar* drew out the Army early in the Morning, on the same Field at *Ardoch* they were on the Day before. About Eleven a-Clock

we

we perceived some Squadrons of the Enemy on the top of the Hill, near the Field of Battle, which march'd over the top of the Hill, and a little after we had an Account of their marching to *Sterling*. Upon which the Earl of *Mar* march'd back with his Army, who continued about *Auchterarder*.

Tuesday 15. Rested.

Wednesday 16. The Earl of *Mar* left General *Hamilton*, with the Horse to canton about *Duplin*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, and the rest of the Foot about *Forgan* and Adjacents, and went into *Perth* himself to order Provisions for the Army ; the want of which, was the Reason of his returning to *Perth*,

Thursday 17. The Earl of *Mar* order'd General *Hamilton* to march with the Horse, and some of the Foot to *Perth*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clan's, to canton about that Place.

After writing the former Narrative, we have Account from *Sterling*, that the Enemy lost 1200 Men, and after Enquiry we can't find above 60 of our Men in all kill'd, among whom were the Earl of *Strathmore*, the Captain of *Clan-Ranald*,

both much lamented. *Auchterhouse* is missing. Very few of our Men are wounded.

Perth, Printed by *Robert*
Freebairn, 1715.

It was reported that one *Drummond* an Officer in *Argyle's* Army, went to *Perth* under the Notion of a Defenter, and communicated his Mind to my Lord *Drummond*, who made him his *Aid de Camp*; and that at the Battle of *Dumblain* he was attending the Earl of *Mar* to receive his Orders. When the Earl of *Mar* thought that his Right Wing was like to defeat *Argyle's* Left, he dispatched the said Mr. *Drummond* to General *Hamilton* (who commanded the Left of the Earl *Mar's* Army) with Orders to attack the Enemy briskly, for he was like to have the best on the Right; but that Mr. *Drummond*, instead of delivering the said Order, gave the direct contrary Orders to General *Hamilton*, and told him, That the Earl of *Mar* was worsted on the Right, and desired him to retire with all haste with as good Order as possible. Upon which General *Hamilton* gave Order to to halt, which was obeyed; then the
Right

Right of the Duke of *Argyle's* Army approaching them, the most part of them gave way without firing a Gun; and those that stood, were for the most part Gentlemen and Officers, who were severely galled by the Duke of *Argyle* and his Right Wing; so that many of them were killed on the Spot, and others taken Prisoners: And that Mr. *Drummond*, after he gave the aforesaid Orders to General *Hamilton*, deserted to the Duke of *Argyle's* side. But this I do not affirm for a Truth.

There was another Thing very observable in that Days Service, viz. That one *Robert Roy Mac-Grigor*, alias *Campbell*, a noted Gentleman in former Times for Bravery, Resolution, and Courage, was with his Men and Followers within a very little Distance from the Earl of *Mar's* Army, and when he was desired by a Gentleman of his own to go and assist his Friends, he answer'd, *If they could not do it without me, they should not do it with me*: That is, If they could not conquer their Enemies without him, he should not assist them in the doing of it.

This Engagement being over, News was brought that the Earl of *Sutherland* with 3 or 4000 Men, of whom 1000 are

his own, 500 of the *Ross's*, 500 of the *Frazer's*, under the Command of Lord *Lovet* their Chief, 300 *Mackay's*, 300 *Forbes's*, and 300 *Monroe's*, march'd directly towards *Inverness*, before which Place they came the 10th of *November*, and summoned the Governor Sir *John Mackenzie*, who, with about 300 of his Name, held it for the Earl of *Seaforth*, and refused to surrender, retiring to the Castle; out of which he retreated, and upon the 12th they took Possession of the Town and Castle.

The Fact in general was true, tho' the Persons were wrong named in the Account, the Earl of *Sutherland* not being in the Action, or any of his Men. However, I say, the Town was taken, and the Loss of this Important Place was no small Affliction to the Earl of *Mar* and his Party, who, with his remaining Forces, after his Disappointment at *Sheriff-Muir*, retired to *Perth*, and the Duke of *Argyle* to *Sterling*, where both continued Quiet the remaining part of *November*, and all the next Month; during which time 6000 *Dutch* Foot, lately landed from *Holland*, were in several Detachments marching with the utmost Expedition, and by long Marches, to reinforce the Duke of *Argyle's* Army. Besides these
Forces,

Forces, the General ordered a Set of General Officers to be sent to him, for the directing the Troops, which indeed were very much wanted. These were Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*, General *Whetham*, *Wightman*, *Evans*, *Stanwix*, and *Grant*. Major-General *Sabine* arrived there also from *Ireland*.

The 22d of this Month the *Pretender* landed within a few Miles of *Aberdeen*; from thence he marched to *Scoon*, two Miles from *Perth*, where he issued out several Proclamations; one for a general Thanksgiving for his safe Arrival, another for praying for him in the Churches, a third for the Currency of all Foreign Coins, a fourth for summoning a Meeting of the Convention of States, a fifth for arming all sensible Men from Sixteen to Sixty, and ordering them to repair to his Royal Standard. He was here addressed by the Episcopal Clergy in the Diocese of *Aberdeen*, and one from the Magistrates of the said City, which with his Answers are as follows.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese of Aberdeen, presented to his Majesty by the Reverend Doctors James and George Gardens, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Dunbreck, Mr. Blair, and Mr. Maitland, at Fetterosse, the 29th of December, 1755. Introduc'd by his Grace the Duke of Mar, and the Right Honourable the Earl Marishal of Scotland.

S I R,

WE your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful Subjects, the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese of *Aberdeen*, do, from our Hearts, render Thanks to Almighty God, for your Majesty's safe and happy Arrival into this your ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, where your Royal Presence was so much longed for, and so necessary to animate your loyal Subjects, our noble and generous Patriots, to go on with that invincible Courage and Resolution which they have hitherto so successfully exerted, for the Recovery of the Rights of their King and Country, and to
excite

excite many others of your good Subjects to join them, who only wanted this great Encouragement.

We hope, and pray that God may open the Eyes of such of your Subjects, as malicious and self-designing Men have industriously blinded with Prejudices against your Majesty, as if the Recovery of your just Rights would ruin our Religion, Liberties, and Property, which by the overturning of these Rights have been highly encroach'd upon; and we are persuaded, that your Majesty's Justice and Goodness will settle and secure those just Privileges, to the Conviction of your most malicious Enemies.

Almighty God has been pleased to train up your Majesty from your Infancy, in the School of the Cross, in which the Divine Grace inspires the Mind with true Wisdom and Virtue, and guards it against those false Blandishments by which Prosperity corrupts the Heart: And as this School has sent forth the most illustrious Princes, as *Moses*, *Joseph*, and *David*; so we hope the same infinitely Wise and Good God designs to make your Majesty, not only a Blessing to your own Kingdoms, and a true Father of them, but also a great Instrument of the general Peace and Good of Mankind.

Your

Your Princely Virtues are such, that, in the Esteem of the best Judges, you are worthy to wear a Crown, tho' you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your Majesty's Care to make your Subjects a happy People, and so to secure them in their Religion, Liberties, and Property, as to leave no just Ground of Distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the Practice of the Primitive Christians.

We adore the Goodness of God, in preserving your Majesty amidst the many Dangers to which you have been exposed, notwithstanding the hellish Contrivances form'd against you, for encouraging Assassins to murder your sacred Person, a Practice abhorred by the very Heathens. May the same merciful Providence continue still to protect your Majesty, to prosper your Arms, to turn the Hearts of all the People towards you, to subdue those who resist your just Pretensions, to establish you on the Throne of your Ancestors, to grant you a long and happy Reign, to bless you with a Royal Progeny, and at last with an Immortal Crown of Glory. And as it has been, still is, and shall be our Care, to instill into the Minds
of

of the People true Principles of Loyalty
to your Majesty, so this is the earnest
Prayer of,

(May it please your Majesty)

Your Majesty's most faithful,

most dutiful, and

most humble Subjects

and Servants.

To which Address his (pretended) Majesty was pleased to give the following Answer.

I *Am very sensible of the Zeal and Loyalty you have expressed for me, and shall be glad to have Opportunities of giving you Marks of my Favour and Protection.*

*The Address of the Magistrates and Citizens
of Aberdeen to the Pretender.*

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

W *E your ever-loyal and dutiful
Subjects, the Magistrates, Town-
Council,*

Council, and other your Majesty's loyal Subjects, Citizens of *Aberdeen*, do heartily congratulate your Arrival to this your Native and Hereditary Kingdom. Heaven very often enhances our Blessings by Disappointments ; and your Majesty's safe Arrival, after such a Train of Difficulties, and so many Attempts, makes us not doubt but that God is propitious to your just Cause.

As your Majesty's Arrival was seasonable, so it was surprizing. We were happy, and we knew it not. We had the Blessing we wish'd for, yet insensible, till now, that your Majesty has been pleased to let us know, that we are the happiest, and, as so we shall always endeavour to be, the most loyal of,

May it please your Majesty, &c.

The Pretender's Answer.

I *Am very sensible of the Duty and Zeal you express for me in this Address ; and you may assure yourselves of my Protection.*

In

In the mean time, to raise the Affections of the People for the *Pretender*, the Earl of *Mar* issued out a Circular Letter in Praise of the *Pretender*.

Glames, 5 Jan. 1716.

I Met the King at *Fetterosso* on *Tuesday* Sen'night where we staid till *Friday*, from thence we came to *Briechin*, then to *Kinnard*, and Yesterday here. The King design'd to have gone to *Dundee* to Day, but there is such a fall of Snow, that he is forced to put it off till to Morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to *Scoon*. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this Season, else he had not been so long by the Way. People every-where, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express that Duty they ought, without any Compliments to him; and to do him nothing but Justice, set aside his being a Prince, he is really the finest Gentleman I ever knew: He has a very good Presence, and resembles King *Charles* a great deal. His Presence however is not the best of him: He has fine Parts, and dispatches
all

all his Business himself with the greatest Exactness. I never saw any Body write so finely. He is Affable to a great Degree, without losing that Majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest Temper in the World. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy People, were his Subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his Throne, is what these Kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much, that I hope there's a good Fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his Subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it will be odd, if his Presence among us, after his running so many Hazards to compass it, do not turn the Hearts, even of the most Obstinate. It is not fit to tell all the Particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone, that well could be, to gain every Body, and I hope God will touch their Hearts.

I have Reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new Face of Affairs Abroad in the King's Favour, which is all I dare commit to Paper.

M A R.

Likewise

Likewise the *Pretender* issued out the following Order for Burning the Country.

James R.

WHereas it is absolutely necessary for our Service, and the publick Safety, that the Enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their March towards us, if they should attempt any thing against us or our Forces; and being this can by no means be better effected than by destroying all the Corn and Forage which may serve to support them on their March, and burning the Houses and Villages which may be necessary for quartering the Enemy, which nevertheless it is our Meaning should only be done in Case of absolute Necessity; concerning which we have given our full Instructions to *James Graham* Younger of *Braco*: These are therefore ordering and requiring you, how soon this Order shall be put into your Hands by the said *James Graham*, forthwith, with the Garrison under your Command, to burn and destroy the Village of *Auchterarder*, and all the Houses, Corn, and Forage whatsoever within the said Town,

so

so as they may be rendred entirely useles
to the Enemy. For doing whereof this
shall be to you, and all you employ in the
Execution hereof, a sufficient Warrant.
Given at our Court of *Scoon*, this 17th
Day of *January*, in the Fifteenth Year
of our Reign, 1715-16.

By his Majesty's Command,

To Colonel Patrick
Graham, or the
Commanding Offi-
cer for the Time
of our Garrison for
Tullibardine.

M A R.

During these Things, the Government
was not idle; the *Dutch* Troops began
to arrive, and the General Officers above-
named made the necessary Preparations
at *Sterling* to be in a readiness to march
towards *Perth* to attack the *Pretender's*
Forces, at all Hazards. At the same time
the agreeable News was published in the
Army, that the Earl of *Seaforth* design'd
to return to his Duty and Loyalty to King
GEORGE: Which, tho' it appear'd after-
wards to be otherwise, yet at that time
it put no little Damp upon the Spirits of
the Rebels. The chief Obstacle that
now retarded the King's Forces from
marching

marching, was not so much owing to the Rigour of the Season, and the Fall of the Snow, tho' that was extraordinary, as the want of Artillery, occasion'd by contrary Winds, which detain'd some Ships at the *Buoy of the Nore* laden with a Train and Stores from the *Tower of London*; but his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* bethought himself of the Garrison of *Berwick*, and sent thither 1500 Draught Horses and 500 Men, to bring from thence a small Train of Artillery consisting of ten Pieces of Cannon and four Mortars, with their Carriages of Ammunition, &c. which, together with fourteen Pieces of Cannon and two Mortars, the Duke had already with him, made a sufficient Train for his Expedition, at least for the first setting out. It is true, his Grace wanted a Company of Gunners and Engineers for the Service, which luckily were brought to him the 29th, by Colonel *Borgard*, who the Day before arrived in the *Frith* with the Men of War and Transports that had on Board the Artillery and Stores so long expected from *London*.

At the same time the Duke of *Argyle* ordered a great many Pioneers to be summoned to attend the March of the Army, and about 2000 Waggon's to be got ready,

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resolving

resolving to carry fourteen Days Provision for the whole Army, as also a proportionable Quantity of Forage for the Horses.

On the 21st of *January*, Colonel *Ghest* was detach'd from *Sterling* with 200 Dragoons, to reconnoitre the Roads leading to *Perth*, in Order to begin the March of the Army.

On *Tuesday* the 24th of *January*, the Duke of *Argyle* and General *Cadogan* went Personally to view the Roads leading to *Perth*; which put the Rebels into such a Consternation, that some of their small Garrisons abandoned their Posts in *Fife*, and retired behind the River *Ern*: But the Army was not yet march'd. Upon their return to *Sterling*, the Duke of *Argyle* ordered a Detachment to take Post at *Dumblain*, and another at *Down*.

January 29th, His Majesty's Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Argyle*, advanced from *Sterling* to *Dumblain*, and the same Morning a Detachment of Troops, with two Pieces of Cannon approach'd the Castle of *Braco*, which was immediately abandon'd by the Rebels.

January the 30th, a Detachment of 200 Dragoons and 400 Foot, with two Pieces of Cannon, march'd to *Tullibardine*,

dine, and dislodged the Rebels from thence, and took Post there, to cover the Country People that were employ'd in clearing the Roads from the Snow. The Army this Night advanced to *Ardoch* and *Auchterarder*, and lay all Night in the open Air in the Snow, the Country being destroy'd by the Rebels.

On *Tuesday* the last of *January* they past the River *Ern* without Opposition, and advanced to *Tullibardine*, within eight Miles of *Perth*. About ten a-Clock that Morning the Rebels abandon'd *Perth*, marching over the River *Tay* upon the Ice, and about Noon the *Pretender* and the Earl of *Mar* followed. The Duke of *Argyle* received notice of their Retreat about four in the Afternoon, whereupon he immediately ordered a Detachment of 400 Dragoons and 1000 Foot to march and take Possession of the Place, which they entred about ten next Morning without Opposition. His Grace, with General *Cadogan*, and the Dragoons following the same Day, arrived there about one in the Morning; the rest of the Army marching slowly, by reason of the bad Weather and Ways, arrived in the Evening. They took some of the Rebels Prisoners here, who, being drunk, had stay'd behind the rest. The Place being

thus possess'd, the Duke of *Argyle* with the utmost Diligence pursued the flying Enemy the next Day, being *February* the 2d, to *Errol*, with six Squadrons of Dragoons, three Battalions, and eight hundred detached Foot.

The next Day they proceeded to *Dundee*, where the rest of the Army came on the 4th. The Rebels retired from *Dundee* to *Montrose*, keeping still two Days march before the King's Army; and his Grace sent on the 3d a Detachment towards *Aberbrothock*, within eight Miles of *Montrose*, and on the 4th in the Morning his Grace divided the Troops, and first ordered Major-General *Sabine* with three Battalions, 500 detached Foot, and fifty Dragoons to march to *Aberbrothock*, there being two Roads to *Montrose*, one by *Brechin*, the other by *Aberbrothock*; and then detached the same Day Colonel *Clayton* with 300 Foot and fifty Dragoons, to march by the way of *Brechin*, giving Orders as well to Major-General *Sabine*, as to Colonel *Clayton*, to set the Country People to work to clear the Roads.

His Grace having divided the rest of his Army into two Bodies, for marching with the greater Expedition, proceeded on the 5th in the Morning with all the Cavalry

Cavalry by the upper Road towards *Brechin*, as did Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* with the Infantry towards *Aberbrothock*, the whole Army being to join the next Day near *Montrose*.

An Account of the Pretender's Conduct in this Flight, and his getting off, you'll find as follows :

ON the 15th of *February*, about Noon, in his March to *Aberbrothick*, General *Cadogan* received Intelligence, That the Day before, about Four in the Afternoon, the *Pretender* receiv'd Advice at *Montrose*, that part of the King's Army was advancing towards *Aberbrothock*; whereupon he ordered the Clans which had remained with him after his Flight from *Perth*, to be ready to march about Eight at Night towards *Aberdeen*, where he assur'd them a considerable Force would soon come from *France*. At the Hour appointed for their March, the *Pretender* ordered his Horses to be brought before the Door of the House in which he lodged, and the Guard which usually attended him to mount, as if he design'd to go on with the Clans to *Aberdeen*: But at the same time he

flipped privately out on Foot, accompanied only by one of his Domesticks, went to the Earl of *Mar's* Lodgings, and from thence by a By-way to the Water-side, where a Boat waited, and carried him and the Earl of *Mar* on Board a *French* Ship of about 90 Tuns, called the *Maria Teresa* of *St. Malo*. About a quarter of an Hour after, two other Boats carried the Earl of *Melfort* and the Lord *Drummond*, with Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, and ten other Gentlemen, on Board the same Ship, and then they hoisted Sail and put to Sea. The Earls of *Marischal* and *Southesk*, the Lord *Tinmouth* Son to the Duke of *Berwick*, General *Gordon*, with many other Gentlemen and Officers of Distinction, were left behind to shift for themselves: Upon which the Clans for the most part dispersed, and ran to the Mountains, and about a Thousand of them, who continued in a Body, march'd towards *Aberdeen*.

And for better Information, please to read the **Journal* written by the Earl of *Mar* at *Paris*, and there you will

* *Vide* Appendix, p. 241, &c.

find such Reasons as he gives for his Master's Retreat, and its hoped it will be the Last with him. You will find an Account of the Strength of the Highland Clans added, which will never again be at the Pretender's Service; since they were ready to fight, and he unwilling to lead them or head them, unless to the Sea-shore.

A LIST of the most considerable Chiefs in Scotland, and the Number of Men they can raise, with an Account of their Disposition for or against the Government.

THE Duke of Hamilton can raise 1000 Men, all with their Chief, dispos'd well for the Government.

The Dutchess of Buccleuch 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of Gordon 3000 Men, with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them with his Son the Marquis of Huntley, who is against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Duke of *Argyle* 4000 Men, most of them, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of *Douglafs* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Duke of *Athole* 6000 Men, few, with their Chief, who is for the Government ; and most of them, with his Son the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, who is against it, and in the Rebellion.

The Duke of *Montrose* 2000 Men, few, with their Chief, who is for the Government ; but most against it.

The Duke of *Roxburgh* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Marquis of *Annandale* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Errol* 500 Men, few, with their Chief, who is Neutral ; but most of them against the Government.

The

The Earl *Marischall* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Sutherland* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Mar* 1000 Men, most with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Rothes* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Mortoun* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Glencairn* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Eglington* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Cassils* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Cathness* 300 Men, few, with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most of them against the Government.

The

The Earl of *Murray* 500 Men, few, with their Chief, who was lately against the Government, and is now for it; but most against it.

The Earl of *Nithsdale* 300 Men, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Wintoun* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Linlithgow* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Hume* 500 Men. He was confin'd in the Castle of *Edinburgh*; but most of his Men, with his Brother, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Perth* 1500 Men, most with their Chief, who lives Abroad, with his Son the Lord *Drummond*, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Wigtoun* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government.

The

The Earl of *Strathmore* 300 Men, in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Lauderdale* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Seaforth* 3000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Countess of *Dumfries* 200 Men, for the Government.

The Earl of *Southesk* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Weems* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Airly* 500 Men, few, with their Chief, who is Neutral; but most, with his Son the Lord *Ogilvie*, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Carnwath* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The

The Earl of *Panmure* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Dundonald* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Earl of *Broadalbine* 2000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Viscount of *Stormount* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government.

The Viscount *Kenmure* 300 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Lord *Forbes* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lady *Lovat* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The

The Lord *Rofs* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lord *Rae* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The Lord *Nairn* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Here follow the CLANS.

SIR *Donald Mac-Donald* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glengary* 500 Men, all with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Captain of *Clanranald* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Keppoch* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The

The Laird of *Mac-Intosh* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Mac-Gregor* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Strowan Robertson* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Mac-Pherson* 500 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Sir *Evan Cameron* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Sir *John Mac-Lean* 1000 Men, most, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Grant* 1000 Men, all, with their Chief, for the Government.

The

The Laird of *Appin* 300 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Mac-Leod* 500 Men, most, with their Chief, who is a Minor, and Neutral.

The Laird of *Mac-Kenning* 200 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glenco* 100 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

The Laird of *Glenmoriston* 100 Men, all, with their Chief, against the Government, and in the Rebellion.

Mac-Neil of *Barra* 120 Men.

Chrisolme of *Straglass* 100 Men, with their Chief, in the Rebellion.

Note,

Note, That all the Chiefs in Scotland, are Chiefs of Clans, properly so speaking, whether Noblemen or Gentlemen; but commonly the last only are call'd the Clans, and particularly those of them who live in the North and West Highlands and Isles.




APPEN-



APPENDIX.

The Earl of Mar's Journal, printed at Paris, (as referr'd to Page 230)

S I R,

 O U seem surpriz'd at the sudden Change our Affairs here have taken, from what you expected by the Accounts you had from some of our Friends at *Edinburgh*, before our leaving *Perth*; and even after we were gone from thence: I will therefore, for
R your

your Satisfaction, give you a true Account of that whole Matter.

It is plain enough, that it was our Business to represent our Affairs then to the Publick, to be in such a Posture as might most encourage our Friends every-where, and discourage our Enemies, and stop them from marching against us until we were in a better Condition to receive them; which we had reason to expect soon to be, by our Friends joining us, as they daily promis'd to do, and until we should receive the Money, Arms, and Amunition we were every Day expecting, as we had been for a long Time.

But that Time being now over, I may freely own to you, and it's fit you should know, that a Month before the *Chevalier* landed, the Resolution was taken of abandoning *Perth*, as soon as the Enemy should march against it: And tho' this Resolution was known to a good Number in our Army, yet the Secret was so well kept, that it never came to the Publick; so that the Enemy, believing that we would stand our Ground, thought themselves obliged to delay their March for a long time, until they had made great Preparations

parations of Artillery, &c. as if they had been going to besiege a fortify'd Town: But, in reality, our Condition was then such, as oblig'd us to take that Resolution, having neither a sufficient Number of Men, Ammunition, nor Arms.

Upon the *Chevalier's* Arrival, we expected that our Friends would then have certainly join'd us; both those who had formerly been with us, and were gone Home, and those who before had given, the *Chevalier* not being come, as the only Reason of their not joining the Army; and also that those, to whom the reducing of *Inverness*, the *Lord Sutherland*, and those with him, was committed, would have vigorously performed that Service, and then have join'd us; and we had no Reason to doubt, but Money, Ammunition, and Arms would immediately be sent after the *Chevalier*.

But, to our great Misfortune, we were disappointed in all those our Hopes, though never so well grounded in Appearance.

The Rigour of the Season, and the great Fall of the Snow on the Hills, kept, in some measure, the rest of the Highlanders from joining us. Most of those who before had excus'd themselves upon the *Chevalier's* not being come, kept still at Home, now that he was come, waiting perhaps to see how his Affairs were like to succeed. Those employ'd for reducing of *Inverness* were so far from acting with Vigour, that they made, what they call'd it, a Cessation of Arms with the Enemy. Some Gold was sent to us in *Lingo's* ; but the Ship in which it came was stranded, and the Gold lost. Several Ships came with Officers, but neither Arms nor Ammunition in any of them : So that our Condition, after the *Chevalier's* Arrival, was no-ways better'd, except by the new Life his Presence gave to the small Number we at that time had got together : Even in that weak Condition, the *Chevalier* would gladly have maintained *Perth*, or ventur'd a Battle ; but when the Enemy, with all their great Preparations, and an Army of above 8000 effective Regular Troops, were actually in March, and advanced near to the Place, it was found impracticable to defend the Town, and unadviseable to enter into a Battle
with

with a small Number of Men that were in it, for a great many Reasons, too long to be here mentioned. But, in short, we had not above 4000, both Horse and Foot; and of these, for want of Arms, and for other Reasons, not above 2500 to be rely'd upon as good fighting Men. The Town is little better than an open Village at any Time; and at this, the River on one side, and a kind of Fosse or Ditch on the other, were frozen up; so that it was easy to be entred on all Quarters. The long continued Frost had kept the Mills from going; so that there was not above two Days Provisions in the Town. The Enemy being then in Possession of the most part of *Fife*, where the Coal-Pits are, there were no Coals to be got; and Wood being scarce in the Country, there happened to be almost no Fuel at all. Besides this, the Highlanders are not used to defend Towns; nor had they wherewithal to defend this.

On the other hand, to have gone out to fight the Enemy, when there was no advantageous Post or Pass to be defended, had been exposing our Men to visible Destruction, the Enemy being provided with every thing, and thrice our Num-

ber of Fighting Men might have surrounded us on all sides, and prevented all Possibility of Retreat. All this puts us into an absolute Necessity of leaving *Perth*, and retiring Northwards, which we did in good Order, and came in two Days to *Montrose* and *Brichen*. Neither of these Places are tenable, tho' we had been provided, as we were not, with a sufficient Number of Men, Ammunition, and Provisions. But *Montrose* being a good Harbour, where we expected our Succours from Abroad, we were unwilling to quit it, so long as we could remain safe in it. We thought, indeed, that the Enemy would have made a Halt at *Perth*, and not have marched so quickly after us, as we soon found they did, they being within a few Miles of us before we had certain Intelligence of it, tho' great Pains had been taken to be informed of their Motions. The Earl of *Panmure* not being recovered of the severe Wounds he had received at the Battle of *Sheriffs-Moor*, was not in a Condition to march along with the Army, which otherwise he would have done; upon which the *Chevalier* advis'd him, as he pass'd *Dundee*, to endeavour to get off in the first Ship he could find; and by Accident

cident finding a little Bark at *Arbroth*, went off in it for *France*.

Before this Time, several People had very seriously represented to the *Chevalier* the deplorable Circumstances in which his Affairs now were on all Sides ; that being over-power'd in *Scotland*, no appearance of any Rising in *England*, nor any News of the Succours he expected from Abroad ; he had no Course at present to take, that was consistent with what he owed to his People in general, to those who had taken Arms for him in particular, and to himself upon their Account, but by retiring beyond Sea, to preserve himself for a better Occasion of asserting his own Right, and restoring them to their ancient Liberties.

It was indeed hard to bring him to think of this ; but those about him found it now high time to press the Matter more than ever, the Enemy being within three Miles upon their March towards us. They therefore again represented to him the Impossibility of making a Stand any where, till they should come to the most inaccessible Places of the Mountains, where, in that Season of the Year, there

being so much Snow on the Ground, there could be no Subsistence for any Body of Men together, and where no Succour could come to them : That when his small Army was divided into lesser Bodies, they could not avoid being cut off by the Enemies Troops, who would then be Master of all the Low Countries, and especially by the Garrisons they had in *Inverlochy* and *Inverness*, which they would reinforce : That as long as they knew he was in the Kingdom, they would pursue him, even with the Hazard of their whole Army, his Person being the chief Object of their Pursuit, as his Destruction was the only thing that could secure their U——n ; whereas, if he were gone off, they would not pursue with that Eagerness, nor would they find their Account in harrassing their Army in the Snow and excessive Cold of the Mountains, to pursue the scatter'd Remains of the Loyal Party, who might sculk in the Hills, till Providence should open a Way for their Relief, or that they could obtain Terms from the Government. That his Person being with them, would defeat even these faint Hopes ; and that, in short, whilst he was in the Kingdom, they could never expect any Terms or
Capi-

Capitulation, but by abandoning him, or giving him up ; which, rather than ever consent to, they would be all, to the last Man, cut in Pieces.

Tho' the *Chevalier* was still extremely unwilling to leave his Loyal People, who had sacrific'd their All with so much Zeal and Alacrity for his Service ; yet when he considered, that as Things then stood, his Presence, far from being a Help and Support to them, would rather be an Occasion of hastening their Ruin, he was sensibly touch'd, to find himself, for their Sakes, under a Necessity of leaving them ; there was no Answering their Reasons, nor any Time to be lost, the Danger encreasing every Moment. He therefore at last told them, that he was sorry to find himself obliged to consent to what they desired of him ; and, I dare say, no Consent he ever gave, was so uneasy to him as this was.

In the mean time, fresh Alarms coming of the Enemy's approaching, Orders were given for the Armies marching towards *Aberdeen*, and the Resolution was taken for his going off in the Evening. It happened very providentially, that there was
just

just ready in the Harbour a small Ship, that had been designed to carry a Gentleman he was then to have sent to a Foreign Court. This Ship was now pitched upon to transport him ; she was but a small one, and could carry but a few Passengers ; and therefore, to avoid Confusion, he himself thought fit to name those who should attend him. The Earl of *Mar*, who was the first nam'd, made Difficulty, and begg'd he might be left behind ; but the *Chevalier* being positive for his going, and telling him, that, in a great measure, there were the same Reasons for his going as for his own ; that his Friends would more easily get Terms without him, than with him ; and that, as Things now stood, he could be no longer of any Use to them in that Country ; he submitted.

The *Chevalier* likewise ordered the Marquis of *Drummond* to go along with him : This Lord was then Lame by a Fall from his Horse, and not in a Condition to follow the Army, and was one of the four with the Earl of *Mar*, Lord *Tullibardine*, and Lord *Lithgow*, against whom there was then a Bill of Attainder passing. The *Chevalier* would have willingly

lingly carried with him the other two Lords ; but it happened that they were both then at a Distance, Lord *Tullibardine* at *Brichen* with a part of the Foot, and Lord *Lithgow* at *Bervie* with the Horse. Lord *Marischal* Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, was also ordered to go, tho' he seem'd very desirous to stay and share in the Fate of his Countrymen. Lieutenant-General *Sheldon* Vice-Chamberlain, had the same Orders ; as had also Colonel *Clephan* who had left the Enemy. Lord *Edward Drummond*, who was also Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, happen'd to be with Lord *Tinmouth* at five Miles distance, and so could not go with the *Chevalier*, as he intended they both should ; but he wrote to them to follow in a small Ship that was then in the Harbour ; but the Master of this Ship was frighten'd, and went away without carrying any Body.

The *Chevalier* then order'd a Commission to be drawn for Lieutenant-General *Gordon* to Command in Chief, with all necessary Powers inserted ; and particularly one, to treat and capitulate with the Enemy : He left also the said General the Reasons of his leaving this Kingdom, and all the Money

Money that was in the Pay-masters Hands, or that he had himself, (save a small Sum for defraying his own and Company's Charges) and left Orders for a Sum of Money (if there should be any left after paying the Army) to be given to the poor People who suffer'd by the Burning of *Auchterarder*, and some Villages about it, which had been thought necessary to be done, to prevent the Enemy's March, tho' very much against his Inclination, which made him delay from time to time, until the Enemy was actually on their March; and the *Chevalier* left a Letter with General *Gordon* for my Lord *Argyle*, to be delivered when the said Money should be given, desiring that it should be distributed accordingly.

About nine a-Clock the *Chevalier* went on Board the Ship, which was about a Mile at Sea; Lord *Marischal* and Colonel *Clephan* came some time after to the Shore, but by an Accident found no Boat, and so could not go off; tho' as the Boat-men, who carried the *Chevalier*, assure us, he stay'd for them till near eleven a-Clock, but could stay no longer, because of the nine Men of War that were cruising thereabouts; and it was great good Luck that

that the Ship, having stay'd so long, got out of their Reach before it was Day-light.

As soon as the *Chevalier* parted, we marched, and we are now a good Way advanc'd towards the *Highlands*, for there was no Stand could be made at *Aberdeen*; nor could we think of going to *Inverness*, that being still in the Enemy's Hands. Some went to *Peterhead*, and thought to have got off in a Ship they found there; but we hear they were soon forc'd back by a Man of War; so it's like they may join us again, if they are not intercepted by the Enemy.

I must here add one Thing, which however incredible it may appear, is, to our Cost, but too true; and that is, That from the time the Earl of *Mar* set up the *Chevalier's* Standard to this Day, we never receiv'd from Abroad the least Supply of Arms or Ammunition of any kind: Tho' it was notorious in itself, and well known, both to Friends and Enemies, that this was what from the Beginning we mainly wanted; and as such, it was insisted upon by the Earl of *Mar*, in all the Letters he writ, and by
all

all the Messengers he sent to the other Side. Several Ships came with Officers, and some small Sums of Money, after the Battle of *Sheriff-Moor*, and three or four Ships more came after the *Chevalier's* Arrival; but even when he was with us in Person, no Powder was sent, nor a Sword or Musquet: So that when we march'd from *Perth*, we had not 300 Weight of Powder for the whole Army; nor should we have wanted Men, had we had Arms to put in their Hands. How this main Point came to be so entirely neglected by those who had the Management of the *Chevalier's* Affairs in their Hands on the other side, is yet a Mystery to us; and it surprizes the more, that those who came lately over assure us, that both Arms and Ammunition might have been gotten from private Hands, without having the Obligation to any Foreign Prince. So whether this unaccountable Omission proceeded from meer Negligence, want of Money, or from a Jealousy in some, who were perhaps unwilling that we should be the Instruments of this great Work, and that it should succeed in our Hands, or for some other Bye-Reasons, is what Time may discover.

Thus

Thus I have given you true Matter of Fact, and a sincere Account of our unfortunate Condition. Whatever may now be our Fate, we have still one solid Ground of Comfort, that the *Chevalier* hath (as we hope) got safe out of the Reach of his Enemies; for in the Safety of his Person is all our Hopes of Relief; and we look on him as the Instrument reserv'd by God, (and he now seems the only one in the ordinary Course of Providence) to rescue these Nations in due Time from their Oppression, and the lawless Dominion of F—.

Now if we look back a little, and consider our Affairs from the beginning of this last Attempt, I believe it will be found that no Nation in our Circumstances, and so destitute of all kind of Succour from Abroad, ever made so brave a Struggle for restoring their Prince and Country to their just Rights. And when it comes to be known to the World, (as some time or other it may) what Encouragements there were at Home and Abroad, reasonably to make us expect and hope for Success in this great, good, and necessary Work; it will appear no chimerical,

cal, rash, or ill-grounded Undertaking; and its not proving successful, plainly appears, by what hath been already said, and what follows, is not owing to the *Chevalier*, or his faithful Friends on this side.

When the Earl of *Mar*, by the *Chevalier's* Command, came down to *Scotland*, he found the People there more forward to take Arms, than his Instruction allowed him to consent to; and it was not without Difficulty that we could allay their first Heat. But the *Chevalier* not going into *England*, nor the Duke of *Berwick* coming to *Scotland*, as was generally expected, abated very much of that Forwardness; so that when the Government summon'd those they suspected, to appear, and give Bail for their good Behaviour, many of them seem'd inclin'd to comply. The Earl of *Mar*, in Pursuance of his Instructions, found it then high time, for preventing this Step, to appear openly; and it was not without Difficulty that he could persuade some to join with him, they apprehending great Uncertainty of Success in the Affair, by no Account being come of the *Chevalier*, or Duke of *Berwick's* Arrival, nor of Money,

ney, Arms, Ammunition, or Officers, tho' others were all along very forward. Upon the Resolution of taking Arms, he sent a Gentleman to give the *Chevalier* an Account of it.

It was near a Month, after the Earl of *Mar* set up the Standard, before he could produce a Commission ; and it is no small Proof of the Peoples Zeal for their Country, that so great a Number follow'd his Advice, and obey'd his Orders, before he could produce one. It must though be own'd, and it is the less to be wonder'd at, that his Authority being thus precarious, some were not so punctual in joining him, and others perform'd not so effectually the Service they were sent upon ; which had they done, not only *Scotland*, but even part of *England*, had been reduc'd to the *Chevalier's* Obedience, before the Government had been in a Condition to make Head against us. But as it was, most of those who had promis'd, and some who had not, join'd the *Chevalier's* Standard at *Perth*, about the end of *October* ; at which time the Earl of *Mar* sent two Gentlemen to give the *Chevalier* an Account of the Condition they were in, of what they had, and of what they

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wanted,

wanted, and to hasten his own, the Duke of *Ormond's*, and the Duke of *Berwick's* coming into *Britain*.

About this Time there was a Rising of some Noblemen and Gentlemen in the South of *Scotland*, who marching over the Borders, were join'd by some in the North of *England*; and they all together marching back into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Mar* sent over the *Firth of Forth* 1500 Foot to join them. This occasion'd the Duke of *Argyle's* leaving *Sterling*, and going with a part of his Army to *Edinburgh*. Now, had the *Scots* and *English* Horse, who were then in the South of *Scotland*, came and join'd the 1500 Foot, as was expected; had the Highland Clans perform'd, as they promis'd, the Service they were sent upon in *Argyleshire*, and marched towards *Glasgow*, as the Earl of *Mar* march'd towards *Sterling*; he had then given a good Account of the Government's Army, the Troops from *Ireland* not having yet join'd them, nor could they have join'd them afterwards. But all this failing, by some cross Accidents, Lord *Argyle* returned with that part of his Army to *Sterling*, and the Earl of *Mar* could not, with the Men he then had,

had, advance farther than *Dumblain*; and for want of Provisions there, was soon after oblig'd to return to *Perth*.

But immediately after we had got Provisions, and that the Clans and my Lord *Seaforth* had join'd us, we march'd again towards the Enemy; and notwithstanding the many Difficulties the Earl of *Mar* had upon that Occasion with some of our own People, he gave the Enemy Battle; and, as you saw in our printed Account of it, had not our Left Wing given Way, which was occasioned by Mistake of Orders, and Scarcity of Experienced Officers, that being compos'd of as good Men, and march'd as cheerfully up to the Field of Battle, as the other, our Victory had been compleat. And as it was, the Enemy, who was advanced on this side the River, was forc'd to retire back to *Sterling*.

Amongst many good Qualities, the Highlanders have one unlucky Custom, not easy to be reform'd; which is, that generally after an Action they return Home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late Battle of *Sheriff-Moor*; so that the Earl of *Mar* not being in a

Condition to pursue the Advantage he had by it, was forc'd to return to *Perth*, waiting there, not without Impatience, both for the Return of the *Highlanders*, and for Money, Arms, and Ammunition, he had so often ask'd, and still expected from Abroad. But the *Highlanders* hearing nothing of the *Chevalier*, or the Duke of *Berwick's* coming, nor of the Supplies, did not return to the Army, as they had promis'd. And the Gentlemen of the Army, who had been long from Home, living still at their own Charge, which they could not well longer support, went also mostly Home, some without Leave, and others after a Leave, which the Earl of *Mar* saw well enough would be to no Purpose to refuse. Some indeed never thought of quitting the Army, and others return'd soon to it ; but our Number was never again near so great as it had been before the Battle. About this Time we had the News of the fatal Affair at *Preston*, which was no small Discouragement to the Army, so that some who had been caballing privately before, began then to speak openly, of Capitulating with the Enemy, and found others more easily to join with them.

We

We had at the same time another piece of bad News; which was, That *Simon Frazer* of *Beauford* (by some call'd *Lord Lovat*) had joined *Lord Sutherland*; and that they, with the Help of some other disaffected People thereabouts, had retaken *Inverness*. Upon this News, most of the Name of *Frazer*, who had joined the *Chevalier's* Army with *Frazerdale*, went now away, and join'd *Beauford*, or *Lord Lovat*, their Chief.

This oblig'd the Earl of *Mar* to send *Lord Seaforth* North, to get his Men together, who had mostly returned Home after the Battle; and, in Conjunction with the *Chevalier's* Friends in that Country, to endeavour to recover *Inverness*.

In the mean time, those who were for Capitulating with the Enemy, press'd the Earl of *Mar* so hard to consent to it, that to prevent some Peoples making private separate Treaties, which he found they were about, he was at last forc'd to comply so far with them, as to send a Message from the whole Army to my

Lord Argyle, to know if he had Power to Treat with them? That Lord returned, with great Civility, this Answer; That he had no sufficient Powers to treat with them in a Body; but that he would write to Court upon the Subject. To which it was reply'd; That when he should let them know he had sufficient Power, they then would make their Propositions. By which the Affair was put off at that time; and we were since informed, that my Lord Argyle never received these Powers; and that even his former Powers, which he sent up to be enlarged, were never returned to him.

Much about this Time, the Marquis of Huntley having, for some time, press'd his going Home with his Horse, the Earl of Mar consented to it, and gave him a Commission, in Conjunction with my Lord Seaforth, for reducing of Inverness, and those who oppos'd the *Chevalier's* Interest in that Country, which we then hop'd would be soon done.

After this, some, though but few, were discovered to have private Dealings

ings with the Enemy ; and some others went Home, and never returned to the Army ; but a good Number of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and all the Heads of the Clans, still remained with the Army at *Perth*.

We had, about this time, the long-wish'd-for News of the *Chevalier's* being Landed ; and that put an End, for the present, to any farther talking of Capitulations.

I have now given you a true, and, I hope, satisfactory Account of the Condition we have been in, ever since our first taking Arms ; of the bad Condition in which the *Chevalier* found us at his Arrival ; and of the Reasons that oblig'd him at last to leave us.

There remains yet to Answer one Question, which you may naturally ask, as most People do, on this Subject ; and that is, Why the *Chevalier* delayed his Coming so long ?

To Answer this Question to your Satisfaction, I must tell you, That I

have what I shall here relate, from Persons of unquestionable Veracity, who were then upon the Place, Eye and Ear Witnesses of what pass'd; and so you may safely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard, what was generally said of the *Chevalier's* Sister's Inclinations towards him, whilst she was in Possession of his Throne. But whatever there was of Truth in that, what I am well assured of is, that he was at last so little satisfied with what was said to him from thence, that he was fully resolved, whilst she was yet alive, to have gone into *Scotland*; and, in order to that, had already prepared a Declaration, or Manifesto, to have been there published upon his Arrival. How he was hinder'd from putting this Design in Execution by some real Friends, that were themselves imposed upon, and by other pretended Friends, who were at the bottom real Enemies, is a Mystery which Time may discover.

Upon the first News of his Sister's Death, he immediately took Post, resolved to endeavour, at any Rate, to get

get into some part of his Dominions; but was stopp'd by those who had Power to do it effectually. Being then forced back to *Lorain*, he made and published his Protestation, which it's likely you have seen, and which, I can assure you, was drawn entirely by himself.

From that Time, as before, he had nothing in his Thoughts, but how and when he could assert his own Right, and deliver his People. He saw little Ground to hope for Succour from any Foreign Prince, and had only the Affections of his People, and the Advice of his Friends on this side of the Water, to rely upon. Their Interest seemed now more than ever linked to his; and they being upon the Place, and consequently best able to judge of the fittest Time for his coming to them, it must be allow'd, that it had been no-ways Prudent nor Adviseable in him, to act contrary to their Opinion: And yet it is most certain, that it was only by following their Advice, contrary to his own Judgment and Inclination, that so much Time was lost. Some of them in *Eng-land*

land insisted upon having a certain Number of Regular Troops to make Head at first, without which, they said, nothing was to be attempted; and though he sent them Word over and over, That, after all the Endeavours he could use, he found it absolutely impossible to obtain any Troops; yet they insisted for several Months in this Opinion, and by that Means the most favourable Time he ever had, was lost. Other Friends there pretended, that the Dispositions of the People would still grow more favourable towards him; and that there was no Danger, but Advantage, by Delaying.

Thus, though he had several Times fixed a Day for his Departure, he was still forced to delay, that he might not act contrary to the Advice of his Friends; and at another Time, because he found that his Enemies had discover'd his Design, and taken infallible Measures to intercept him. But as soon as his Friends began to see, and own the Mistakes they had been in, he, without any Regard to the many Dangers he had to go through,

through, set out from *Commercy* the 28th of *October*, and went *incognito* through a great Part of *France*, to the Coast of *Britany*; and to avoid falling into the Hands of many, who were plac'd upon the common Road to intercept him, he was obliged to cross the Country through Bye-ways, with only three People with him. His Design was to go to *England*, if Things appeared favourable there; or, if they did not, to go to *Scotland*.

When he arrived at *St. Malo's*, he found the Duke of *Ormond* returned from the Coast of *England*, to which he had gone some Days before, in Hopes to have found Friends ready to join him; but that having failed, by some Accidents of Discoveries, he was forced to return. Upon this he resolved to go into *Scotland*; and it not being thought safe for him to go through the *British* Channel, he had been advis'd to go round *Ireland*; and, by a Message from his Friends in *Scotland*, it was propos'd to him to land at *Dunstaffnage*, which was at that Time in their Possession; but soon after the Enemy came to be Masters of
of

of it, by the Clans not performing what they were charg'd with in *Argyleshire*, as is afore-mentioned. His Friends immediately inform'd him of this Change, by a second Message; and this confirm'd him in the Resolution he had himself before taken, of changing all his Measures, and, in place of taking that long, tedious Way, which was indeed the safest, to take a much shorter, though a more dangerous Way for being intercepted by the Enemies Ships; he sent therefore immediately to prepare a small Ship privately for him at *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly done, though not without Difficulty.

He was now a second Time oblig'd to traverse a great Part of *France*, and that on Horse-back, in the very coldest Time of this hard and severe Winter; expos'd to greater Danger than in the *Forth*, from the greater Number of those who lay in wait for him on all the great Roads, which oblig'd him to travel by unfrequented Routs, where there was Accommodation bad enough; and yet all this Time, in that terrible Cold, he never

ver had the least Ailment or Indisposition.

It was about the middle of *December* (our Style) before he could reach *Dunkirk*; he was there informed, that there was a Man of War then lying in that very Road; and that there were a great many more cruizing on the Coast of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, all of them in wait for him; but he, without any Regard to these Dangers, went immediately on Board this small Ship with only three Servants, and, conducted by good Providence, arrived safe at *Peterhead*, where he landed the 22d of *December* (old Style.)

Having, I hope, now fully satisfy'd your Curiosity, I have only to add, That tho' it hath pleased God to permit, that this Attempt, tho' never so just, had not the wish'd-for Success; we have still reaped by it one great Advantage, which is, that we have seen with our own Eyes, and personally known our lawful S———n; and, to our unspeakable Satisfaction, discover'd in him all the great and
good

good Qualities that are necessary for making a People every-way Happy.

The Time may, and I hope will yet come, when God, in his Mercy, will open the Eyes, and turn the Hearts of these Nations to a Sense of their Duty, and not permit so accomplish'd a Person to be always unfortunate: But however it shall please Providence to dispose of him, thus I can assure you, and you may rely upon it, that as his Right is indefeasible, he is firmly resolved, by the Help of Almighty God, to assert it, whenever he finds a fit Opportunity, and never to depart from it, but with his Life.

The Lord *MAR*'s Letter to -----

S I R,

TH E inclosed Relation having come to my Hands since I came to this Country; and having, upon Perusal, found it

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*it very exact in relating Matters of Fact ;
I thought you would be glad to see it,
which makes me send it to you ; and, if
you think fit, you may shew it to your
Friends where you are.*

I am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

Sic sub. M AR.

F I N I S.





ERRATA.

- P**Age 4. l. 6. for *Mernis* r. *Merns*.
P. 33. l. 6. for *Hexam* r. *Newcastle*.
P. 67. l. 18. for *Cowhill* r. *Blackhill*.
P. 72. l. 7. for *went off in a Body*, r. *went off in Bodies*.
P. 73. l. 12. for *first* r. *second*.
P. 104. l. 16. for *Rochley* r. *Rochaley*.
P. 119. l. 1. for *White-Bull* r. *Mitre*.



